DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 461 530 SO 027 256

AUTHOR	Harris, Carol E., Ed.; Depledge, Norma E., Ed.
TITLE	Advancing the Agenda of Inclusive Education. Proceedings of the CASWE Summer Institute (1st, St. Catherines, Ontario, Canada, June 7-9, 1996).
INSTITUTION	Canadian Association for the Study of Women and Education.
PUB DATE	1996-06-00
NOTE	295p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Lakehead University, Thunder Bay, Ontario, Canada P7B 5E1 ($28).
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Proceedings (021)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC12 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Access to Education; *Agenda Setting; Cultural Awareness; Disabilities; Elementary Secondary Education; Females; Foreign Countries; *Indigenous Populations; Social Discrimination; Social Integration; Special Needs Students; Stereotypes; *Womens Studies
IDENTIFIERS	*Canada

ABSTRACT

The first Canadian Association for the Study of Women and Education (CASWE) Summer Institute convened to address issues resulting from exclusionary practices in education. The forum provided a venue for individuals and groups involved in a wide range of educational endeavors to share perspectives of inclusive education. Those facing exclusion in education include women, minorities, Aboriginals, and persons with disabilities. This proceedings include 535 papers divided among 4 sessions with additional sections on professional development and action strategies for change. Sessions include: (1) "Inclusionary Education"; (2) "Inclusion in Traditional School Subjects"; (3) Pedagogical Alternatives for Education"; and (4) Issues in Inclusivity." The papers encompass such topics as gender equity (especially in the subject areas of mathematics, science, and technology), stereotyping, diversities, meeting the needs of Aboriginal students, sexual harassment of female school administrators, and achievements of minority women in academe. (BT)

Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made
from the original document.

ED 461 530

SUMMER INSTITUTE

CASWE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

ADVANCING THE AGENDA OF INCLUSIVE EDUCATION

PROCEEDINGS

BROCK UNIVERSITY
ST. CATHARINES
ONTARIO, CANADA

JUNE 7 - JUNE 9
1996

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Juanita Epp
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
1

SO 027 256

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Copies of this document are available
from
Dr. Juanita Epp
Faculty of Education
Lakehead University

Please send a cheque for $28.00, payable to the
Canadian Association for the Study of Women and Education (CASWE)

The First CASWE Summer Institute

In the wee hours of a June morning in Orlando, Florida, at the 1995 Conference of the American Association of University Women, the first CASWE Summer Institute had its genesis. It grew out of a desire to generate a broad-based discussion among the many groups who both affect and are affected by exclusionary practices in education. Focusing on Advancing Inclusive Education, the three co-chairs, Drs. Cecilia Reynolds, Juanita Epp, and Carol Harris envisioned a forum in which issues of inclusion and exclusion might be allowed to surface, a forum which might act as a catalyst for the development of pedagogical alternatives and strategies. It was felt that the first CASWE Summer Institute could provide a venue at which individuals and groups involved in a wide range of educational endeavors, but sharing a desire to advance an agenda of inclusive education, might be enabled to forge new links.

To that end, papers were invited from Ministries of Education, School Boards, university students and faculty, and the greater community. The response was an excitingly rich mix of papers that address exclusions faced by girls and women, visible and non-visible minorities, Aboriginal peoples, and persons with disabilities, as well as papers that address topics as diverse as leadership and traditional school subjects.

Arranged under the headings suggested by the program organizers, the thirty-five papers in the published proceedings follow the same order as that of the conference. It is hoped that in future years, the representation of visible and non-visible minority women and men will be enlarged. This first CASWE Summer Institute, however, is a beginning--a stepping stone to an expanded awareness, perhaps a place on which to build.

Editors:	Carol E. Harris University of Victoria	Norma E. Depledge University of Victoria
Co-Chairs:	Cecilia Reynold Brock University	Juanita Epp Lakehead University

Carol E. Harris
University of Victoria

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INCLUSIONARY EDUCATION: SESSION A

A-1 Including Girls and Women

Liza McCoy, Paula Bourne and Dorothy Smith, **Hearing from Girls: A Gendered Critique of Schooling** 1

Coral Mitchell, **Reading the Context: Is Your School Female-Friendly?** 9

Olive Chapman and Leslie Robertson, **Understanding Gender Equity in Education Through Narrative** 17

A - 2 Including Students with Special Needs

Shoshana Ross and Nancy Heath, **Gender Specific Vulnerability: Patterns of Responses on the Children's Depression Inventory by Children with and without Learning Disabilities** 25

A - 3 Including Minorities

Rebecca Luce-Kapler and Ingrid Johnston, **Hearing Diverse Voices: Subjectivity, Silence, and Sterotype** 35

Norma Depledge, **Whom Do We Mean by "We"?** 43

Don Clement, **Pedagogy and Love: Re-Imagining an Earth-Inclusive Education** 53

A - 4 Including Aboriginal Students

Darryl Hunter and Trevor Gambell, **The Possibly Impossible: Issues of Fairness and Equity in Large Scale Literacy Assessment with Aboriginal Students** 61

INCLUSION IN TRADITIONAL SCHOOL SUBJECTS: SESSION B

B - 1 Physical Education and Mathematics

M. Louise Humbert, **Free at Last** 69

M. Elaine Harvey, **Gender Issues in the Mathematics Classroom** 77

B - 2 Science and Technology

Sarah Inkpen, **Jurassic Pedagogy in a Technocratic Part** 85

Sheryl Johnston, **"Female-Fiendly" Science, Math, and Technology Activities Recommended to Pre-Service Teachers: An Analysis of Teacher Education Textbooks** 93

B - 3 English, Social and Family Studies

Erin Ortwein, **Red Wheelbarrow Vision, Purposeful Poetic Pedagogy and the Echoes in the Halls of Student Minds--Women's Literature and Feminist Teaching** 101

Susan Hart, **Listening to a Different Voice: Using Women's Stories in Social Studies** 109

Aniko Varpalotai, **Boys in Family Studies/Home Economics: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back?** 117

Maryann Ayim, **The Family Studies Classroom: Values and Evaluations** 125

B - 4 Drama and Art

Julia Balaisis, **Including Women's Wisdom: Connecting to the Intuitive** 133

Octavia James, **Responses to Diversity: Interviews with the Staff and Faculty of the Concordia University Theatre Department** 141

Debra Attenborough, **Women Throughout Art History** 149

B - 5 Aboriginal Studies

Paula Bourner, **Meeting the Needs of Aboriginal Students in our Public Schools OR, If We're All Really Different, Aren't We the Same?** 153

PEDAGOGICAL ALTERNATIVES FOR EDUCATION: SESSION C

C - 1 Women Becoming Teachers

Sharon Abbey, **Pre-service Students' Perceptions of Gender Equity Issues** 159

Joyce Castle, **Changing Times, Changing Views? Preservice Teachers' Talk about Women in Education** 167

C - 2 Minority Adult Students

Shahrzad Mojab, **The Struggles and Achievements of Minority Women in Academe** 175

Alice Schutz, **Uncertainty: Pedagogical Dilemmas among Teachers of a Continuous Intake Program** 183

C - 3 Adult Students with Disabilities

Muriel Leith Stewart, **Entrepreneurial Training for the Disabled: The STRIDE Program** 191

Lisa Hanna, **Equity, Disclosure, and Stigma: The Accommodation of Students with Non-Visible Disabilities in Canadian Universities** 197

C - 4 Women in Health and Welfare

Donna Varga and Harriett Field, **Challenging or Reinforcing Maternal Ideologies? The Education of Women in the Field of Child and Youth Services** 205

ISSUES IN INCLUSIVITY: SESSION D

D - 1 Preparing Women for Leadership Positions

Marilyn McDougal and Vivian Hajnal, **Gender Equity in Education: Taking our Temperature in 1996** 213

Sandra Tonnsen and Rosalind P. Hale, **Sexual Harassment of Female School Administrators** 221

D - 2 Women and Life Decisions

Vicki Bales, **Working with Similarity and Difference**: The Importance of an Analysis of Difference in Supporting Individual Change 229

Lorna Erwin, **Gender Subjectivity and Career Identity: The Construction/ Deconstruction of Occupational Aspirations Among Female Undergraduates** 237

D - 4 Countering Exclusion and Harassment

Karen Wheeler and Sandie Barnard, **Boys and Girls Together: Student to Student Sexual Harassment in Secondary Schools** 245

Carel Montana Wilkin, **BC Universities, Models for Society or Rhetoric? The Implementation of Harassment and Equity Policies--or She Should Have Known Better!** 251

PLANNING FOR CHANGE: PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Ann Holmes, Rebecca Coulter, Judith Robertson, and Huguette Beaudoin, **Gender Equity in Education: The Change Agent Partnership between Ontario Women's Directorate (OWD) and the Ontario Association of Deans of Education (OADE)** 259

ACTION STRATEGIES FOR CHANGE

Ailsa Watkinson, **Diversity in the Classroom: Challenges and Reflections** 269

Julia Ellis, **Assessing Students' Realities Through Creative Assignments** 279

Elizabeth Sacca and Katsi'tsakwas Ellen Gabriel, **Preserving Kanien'keha:ka Culture and Language through Community-Based Education and Video** 287

Hearing from Girls: A Gendered Critique of Schooling

by Liza McCoy, Paula Bourne and Dorothy Smith

Between November 1993 and November 1994 we talked with more than 50 girls and young women about their experience of schooling in Ontario.* They told us what they liked about their schools and their teachers; they also described practices and situations they found unfair, discriminatory, silencing, discouraging, and scary -- as girls. It was this gendered critique we were particularly interested in discovering. Much of the literature on gender discrimination in schooling is based on U.S. classroom observation studies and curriculum analysis (e.g., Sadker and Sadker, 1994). We wanted to hear from girls and young women themselves, to learn about schools from their point of view, and to make this critique public.

We held twelve focus groups. Participants came from 20 urban schools in three different regions of Ontario (the southwest, the north, and Toronto) and ranged in grade from six through to OAC; a few were recent graduates. In setting up focus groups we were aiming at a diversity of schooling experiences. This meant getting participants from different types of schools (public, private, separate, French immersion, collegiate, vocational-technical). It also meant getting participants who, from their perspective as young women of colour or/and as lesbians, could tell us how gender discrimination intersects with racism and heterosexism.

We were struck by how sharp, detailed and informative were the accounts participants provided of everyday school practices they found troublesome. It is clear that here is an important critical resource, but one that goes largely untapped within the school hierarchy. As one student commented:

> *A lot of teachers underestimate the quality of students' opinion ... I think that I do have good suggestions, and the fact that people aren't hearing me kind of upsets me a lot of the time.*

This paper offers a brief selection of participants' comments about teachers, curriculum, and relations between male and female students. A more extensive report of this research can be found in Smith, McCoy and Bourne (1995).

Teachers

> *Your whole education depends on the teachers you have and the atmosphere the teachers make.*

Teachers figured prominently in the girls' accounts of school life. We heard a great deal about teachers -- how they exercise their power in the classroom, about their peculiarities and idiosyncrasies, about their teaching styles. Students described many excellent and much-admired teachers; the focus in this section, however, is on the problems they identified.

There were two forms of gender discrimination participants described as routinely practiced by teachers. Younger girls (grades six to eight) decried the continuing practice among some teachers and janitors of choosing boys to help carry things and move furniture.

> *S:* *All the girls put up their hands and like two boys put up their hands and she just chooses those two boys.*
>
> *S:* *She does it a lot.*

All groups mentioned the differential treatment directed at boys and girls for similar offenses.

> *We were reviewing our exam and ... we were laughing about it because how Mr. Patterson -- his description of the exam, so I disrupted, then two seconds later Jon disrupted, and Mr. Patterson freaked on him, but said nothing to me. And Jon said, look, why didn't you freak on Laura, she did the same thing. And Mr. Patterson's rebuttal was like, 'you know that girls get away with more.'*

It is a commonplace in school life that boys get in trouble more than girls. Our focus groups considered this to be unfair, although clearly to their advantage. A couple of students, however, told a story that revealed a hidden aspect of this disparity: what girls do isn't taken as seriously as what boys do.

> *We had this social and the guys got kicked out because they were jumping and that's like how they dance. And they didn't get any warning that they weren't allowed to do that. They just kicked them out. And then, the girls were pretty pissed off about this and so we were like pretty bad and everything and we got a thousand warnings and we never got kicked out.*

The girls never did find out what they could do that would earn them the same punishment as the boys.

Apart from these routine forms of gender discrimination, apparently widely practiced, and by both male and female teachers, we heard about individual teachers who made derogatory remarks about female ability, who joked about women's inferiority, who made racist and homophobic pronouncements in class, who looked or spoke in sexually suggestive ways to female students, who touched girls' bodies. These teachers were all men.

> *If he had his way, he'd have all the girls in Family Studies and all the guys in Tech. If a girl does a good job on a tech project, he says, that's pretty good for a girl.*

> *S:* *I mean he comes right out of the dark ages, and he makes blatant remarks about what our place is and physically hurts us -- me in particular, because he's grabbed me on occasion and --*
>
> *S:* *Well, he's just frightening ... like, the other day, I was wearing a top and it kind of went low, and I was wearing a shirt over and like I felt every time he came near me I'd have to close it, because he wouldn't look at me, he'd look at my chest, and like it's so uncomfortable to feel scared of a teacher, you know like --he has no consideration.*

> *I have an English teacher who humiliates people in class.... There are about five Buddhists in our class. He mispronounces one guy's name. Last week he said, maybe I should baptize you and name you John Paul. He says Christianity is the only religion.... He calls girls 'honey' and 'sunshine' and goes, 'shut up or I'll kiss you.' He tried to hug me one day. He goes, 'do you still love me?' cause I got really mad at him.*

Accounts like this were common in our focus groups. A very few students reported that they argued with such teachers:

> *He said all lesbians and gays should go straight to hell, and I said I had second mothers who are lesbians and I love them very much and I think you should shove it up your ass. I was so mad, I could have killed him.*

In general, however, students felt they had little recourse against sexist and racist teachers; they considered the official complaint process to be ineffective and possibly even risky for themselves.

> *I feel if we went [to the school board to complain], nothing would be done. 'Cause there's not enough of us. The teacher could just deny it all. They're not going to believe us.*

> *The process backs up the teachers, and you know -- I'm trying to make a formal complaint against a teacher, but I know that making that complaint is going to be more of a hindrance on me than it is on the teacher, even if it goes on his permanent record, because I have to deal with the teacher on a daily basis. I have to go to his class and I have to deal with his attitudes and behaviour, when there's nobody else present, and nobody else sticks up for me. So - and nobody else is willing to be a witness to that behaviour, because they understand that their marks could be affected.*

We heard from girls about situations they had no intention of reporting because they didn't think they'd be believed, or their complaint taken seriously. This had in fact been the experience of several students who tried to talk to principals and vice-principals about sexist teachers: *"They just pretend to listen, then they shove you off." "They don't listen. He doesn't care."*

School practices uphold the authority of the teacher. We do not know that these "brush-offs" were, in fact, the end of the matter. It is quite possible that the principal or vice-principal discussed the complaint with the teacher involved. But if so, the students were never told. Their experience is that they were not believed, and their complaint went nowhere. Not surprisingly, this discourages them from making other complaints, perhaps about more serious matters.

One young woman described an experience in her grade 10 science class with a teacher who repeatedly singled her out for verbal abuse (*"He started telling me off and he told me one day in front of the entire class that he hopes I get raped in a park and he's there to watch"*). He frequently called her a bitch and made racist and sexist comments to her.

> *And when I went to [Guidance], the guidance counsellor said, oh it's a personality conflict, we'll transfer you out of that class.... And I went to a non-semestered school... so by about February I don't want to have an entire shift in my schedule and have everything changed around. So I was made to feel like I was a problem. And because of the personality conflict, I must have contributed to it....*

The student stayed in the teacher's class, enduring his abuse, and finished out the year. The next year, however, she managed to convince some of her former classmates to accompany her to complain to the principal. The principal believed the girls' story, and took action. The only result visible to the student was that the teacher had to write a letter of apology. The teacher remained in the school. The long-term consequences for the student, however, were critical. She had been an excellent student in math and science, getting marks in the high 90s. Unwilling to take physics from this same teacher, she dropped out of science and then math, choosing instead to focus on the arts.

We heard from other students who gave up areas of study and recreation because of frightening or discouraging male teachers. One girl quit a sports team because of a coach she and her friends described as "sexist" and "neanderthal." In another focus group, made up of grade eight students, most of the participants had dropped an elective music class because of a teacher who made embarrassing and hostile comments to the girls, and by their account, gave more instructional help to the boys struggling to learn the instruments than to the girls. They told the principal why they were dropping the course: *"He said, 'Oh well.' He doesn't really believe us."*

Curriculum

In speaking with our focus groups about what they were learning in their classes, we were struck by two aspects of their accounts: the continuing existence of male bias in the curriculum and the importance of the individual teacher in overcoming or perpetuating it.

We asked girls in the younger grades what they recalled having learned about women in Canadian history. Their answers were discouraging. The following is typical.

S: I didn't really know that there was much that happened with women, 'cause I thought they weren't really -- back then they weren't as important, they didn't seem like they had as big of a role --

S: Wifes or something

S: like in wars it's usually men.

Older girls had a great deal to say about course content, which they perceived as reflecting the choices of the individual teacher as well as the constraints of the textbook and Ministry guidelines.

S: I think it really depends on the teacher, like in our history class the teacher would introduce these things [topics concerning women] because he's chosen to, but I don't think it's really on the curriculum guideline, like he's just introduced it to us, and like I think that if it's not put into the curriculum, the teachers really aren't going to concern themselves with it because it takes time from the rest of the work.... This history class I'm taking, this is the only class that I'm sure if we asked, 'could you talk to us about this,' he'll spend a unit on it, and teach us about it, but that's because we've been made comfortable with the teacher, but if it was another teacher --

S: He's not a sexist teacher.

The Ontario Ministry of Education and Training has a "sex equity" policy that calls for curricula in history and social studies to represent the experiences and contributions of women.

> *Yes, but what those activities are, are not specified [in the policy]. We talk about women, we talk about how women in the civilizations of Mesopotamia, how they were the gatherers of berries and the men were hunters, you know, the pillars of strength and -- it's ridiculous. You know, it's how they're represented, not IF they're represented. 'Cause we know that women existed, it's just the light that they're seen under that's important.*

The teacher's power to interpret curriculum materials is emphasized in the following account:

> *In history, Western Civilizations, the textbook is all facts. The book mentions three great enlightened despots and mentioned Catherine the Great. The teacher mentioned the other two, men, but didn't really mention Catherine until later: 'Yeah, Catherine the Great, but she wasn't really that influential.' He put her*

> *down. He didn't lift her up and say, this is a really interesting woman of the time and she was [a] female [monarch], which was very unheard of, and that she did so much. No one else really questioned it.*

Lesbian students remarked on the near total absence of any reference to homosexuality. The topic of homosexuality may be written into the curriculum and textbooks in such areas as family studies and sex education, but the teacher has considerable discretion about how or even if to cover such topics:

> S: *I have a friend who's taking Family Studies where they're supposed to discuss alternative lifestyles and stuff. And she says they're not even doing it this year because they don't have time. So they just automatically dropped homosexuality. [It's] just like one of the two courses where you're supposed to discuss it.*
>
> S: *I know that in Society class they did have someone from [a gay magazine] come in and discuss it. I didn't take the actual course but just went to sit in on that .... That's the only time I've seen homosexuality discussed in a classroom form. I've never seen it in Health classes at all.*

The discretion granted to teachers can be used to advantage by those teachers who want to serve up a more female-inclusive curriculum. One student remarked of her courses in Society, Challenge and Change:

> *It's all about women. We talk mostly about women.... I don't know if it would be different if we had a male teacher.*

But male teachers were also described as opening the classroom space to discussions of women's issues:

> *I had a really great Civilizations teacher last year.... In independent study he must have made a list of 60 people we could study. We could choose. So if we wanted to choose a woman in history we could. He left a lot of it open to the students. He was not forcing women's studies on anybody, but everyone has to listen to every presentation anyway, so that way we all get to hear about women's role in history. I thought it was good.*

Yet students also saw the independent study route as a potential "cop out": the teacher does not need to make any changes to the regular course material, or rethink his -- or her -- interpretations. For these students, the opportunity to do independent research on women's issues is not enough -- they want all students to be exposed to the same material.

> *My art teacher, first of all, he said there hadn't been any substantial women artists. I said, no, no, you're completely wrong and I listed them. That's what we should be learning. He wouldn't do anything about it. And as far as I can see, nothing has been done.... He did say he was trying to get more books on women's art history into the library. I assume he did.*

Relations between boys and girls

Our focus group participants did not speak about male classmates and friends as much as they spoke about teachers. They did report, however, being bothered at times by some boys' assumptions of male superiority. This was particularly noticeable to girls in the context of physical education and intramural sports. Girls in the younger grades (six to nine) where gym class is generally sex-integrated spoke of a kind of marginalization that takes place during team games; they described how boys would pass the ball to other boys, but not to girls. The teacher's admonishments had little effect: *"When the gym teacher's not looking* *[they] never pass to the girls."* Also, boys favoured a competitive style of play that most girls were uncomfortable with: when someone made a mistake, or missed a play, boys would groan. Grade six girls explained that they preferred a more mutually-encouraging relationship with teammates -- saying "nice try," for example, even when someone made a mistake. Some girls reported male classmates actively defining girls as inferior athletes and discouraging them from participation in sports:

S: They call us weaklings -- ...

S: Or they go to you -- 'see, you made us lose an important game, because like, because you can't even play or anything.'

S: ... they'll call [us] cry babies

S: I could play better [than anyone in] my class, but do they compliment me? No.

S: Do you compliment the boys if they play well?

S: Yeah.

S: Sometimes, if they have boys' game and we go hooray! Go boys! But when the girls play, they're like, Boo Girls!

S: Yeah, they go like that, and they call you names.

S: 'Girls can't play hockey, they suck.'

S: Just like, basketball if you try out, like boys come and watch you and they say, 'Oh, you can't throw the ball, what's the use of trying out?'

Athletically able girls do not necessarily win acceptance from boys. One young woman, a talented athlete, described a change that occurred when she and her classmates turned thirteen.

> *I could do more [chin ups] that any guy in my class could do, and I got so much hostility for that -- you bitch kind of thing. And before, when I was younger, there was a different relationship where I don't think that would have caused that.*

We heard many such stories about boys policing the male gender domain of sport and physical education.

More generally, focus group participants described school settings where boys are privileged to evaluate girls sexually, to make public comments about a girl's appearance, sexual behaviour, etc. At the younger ages, this took the form of a sexual hazing -- sexual graffiti about specific girls written in school hallways, loud comments about "hooters" (breasts), calling girls "flat-top" who had not yet grown noticeable breasts, making sexually suggestive noises at girls. Here, girls in grade nine describe how sexual harassment works as a vehicle for policing standards of femininity and desirability -- and its effect on them (note that this behaviour can come from a girl's male friends):

S: Guys used to rate girls when you walked down the halls, yelling out numbers. The guys were joking around, but also guys were doing it seriously. When they yell out '10' you don't know if they think you're really hot or if they're making fun of you to try to make you think that.

S: When I'm with my guy friends, a fat girl with zits and permed hair walks by and the guys go, 'Ooh ba-bee!' But they'll say that to me, so you don't know what they mean.

S: I think that's why girls are so worried about what they look like in gym class. That's what it leads to because of how much guys put pressure on you for what you look like.

Young women of colour described their particular experience of this public business of boys' approving and disapproving of girls' appearance: the sexual evaluations directed their way were often couched in racial terms, or made reference to "white" normative standards.

S: *I've been told so many times, oh you're so exotic.*

S: *Is that by white boys?*

S: *Yeah! And it's like, am I a parrot or something? Like what's going on? I just -- or I'd be told, I've never been with an Indian girl. I mean, I heard that so many times, you know. There's a whole sexual stereotype.*

...

S: *Did you find that it was either, you're so exotic and different or ew, you're disgusting because you're a minority women? That's how I felt, it was either one of the two ...*

S: *I got the disgusting when I was a kid -- a real kind of contempt you know ... from guys kind of thing, like fuck, we wouldn't even consider you*

(For an analysis of the racist character of sexual harassment, see Bannerji, 1995. On sexual harassment in Ontario schools, see Larkin, 1994).

Although much of this interaction takes place on school property during school hours, it does not necessarily occur in front of teachers. When it does, however, teachers and school administrators appear ineffectual in stopping all but the most extreme cases, perhaps because they have a hard time distinguishing between sexual harassment and "normal" adolescent male interest in girls' bodies. One girl told a story in which she contrasted the way a teacher intervened in a case of racial harassment with what happened when she was accosted by a boy commenting on her breast size a few days later: *"And the teacher just stood there and he had a smile on his face. I couldn't believe that. It was like, why aren't you doing anything about this?"*

Not all girls wanted or expected teachers to intervene in cases of sexual harassment or the more general put-downs of girls and women. Some had developed their own ways of fighting back and refused to accept the inferior positions boys were setting up for them.

> *A lot of guys watch what they say around me, because they understand that I'm not going to sit there and let them say it, I'm gonna call them on it, and so I don't specifically have a problem with them, because I stand up for myself.*

This young woman and her friends had recently participated in a Gender Equity Retreat organized by the Toronto Board of Education. They spoke enthusiastically of the event, and recommended workshops along similar lines for all girls, starting in elementary school:

> *I think it would be so much easier if you could educate the girls and make them aware that if somebody says this to you, you can say, 'who are you talking to?' ... It would be so much easier to change their [girls'] minds, then try to convince the guys that it's wrong to say these things, because I'm sure they know already that it's wrong, but they don't care.*

Conclusion

The girls' critique points to a school system where gender discrimination, despite enormous improvements, is still widespread and deeply entrenched. Sexist teachers appear to be well-distributed throughout the schools our participants attended; women remain marginalized in much of the curriculum, their inclusion largely dependent on the choices of individual teachers; and boys in many schools appear to enjoy a de facto right to sexually harass or disparage female students. Of course schools vary -- our informants attending northern schools reported very little sexual hazing and harassment. The point is not to generalize broadly on the basis of the girls' stories, but to recognize the possibility that problems such as the ones described here may be existing for girls in any Canadian school.

To be successfully challenged, gender inequity needs to be addressed at the various levels and sites of the school system: at the faculties of education that train teachers, at the ministries of education and school boards where policies and priorities are established, at the local level of the individual school. At all of these levels, the critiques and suggestions of female students can -- and should -- serve as a central resource.

*Funding for this study was made possible through a Strategic Research Women and Change Grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council.

References

Bannerji, H. (1995). In the matter of "X": Building "race" into sexual harassment. In *Thinking through: Essays on feminism, marxism and anti-racism*. Toronto: Women's Press.

Larkin, J. (1994). *Sexual harassment: High school girls speak out*. Toronto: Second Story Press.

Sadker, M. and Sadker, D. (1994). *Failing at fairness: How America's schools cheat girls*. New York: Scribner.

Smith, D., McCoy, L. and Bourne, P. (1995). Girls and schooling: Their own critique. Gender and Schooling Papers No. 1. Toronto: Centre for Women's Studies in Education, OISE.

Contact:
Liza McCoy, Paula Bourne and Dorothy Smith, Centre for Women's Studies in Education, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 252 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario M5S 1V6, (416) 923-6641; lmmcoy@oise.on.ca; pbourne@oise.on.ca; dsmith@oise.on.ca.

Reading the Context: Is Your School Female-Friendly?

Since the early years of the women's movement, much has been written about such work-related issues as the glass ceiling, sexual harassment, and tense male-female relationships. Early writings described and criticized the lack of place or voice for women in their schools and workplaces. While that type of critique continues, rhetoric has recently surfaced suggesting that women must take personal responsibility for their advancement in the educational and work world (e.g., Collinson, 1989; Mainiero, 1994). However, such a suggestion implies that the organizational context supports women's inclusion and success. Yet many women and girls, for some time now, have suspected that the schools and organizations in which they learn and work are not particularly friendly places.

Some of the tensions are obvious, explicit, and intended, but many of them are subtle and systemic. Linda Jean Shepherd (1993), who has worked as a biochemist in various corporate and academic institutions, tells a chilling tale of the ways in which the "masculine" culture of academic and scientific communities undermined her belief in her own reality and silenced her authentic voice. No one told her not to participate, nor did they punish her when she did. But the things she would have said and done as a woman were not acceptable "ways of doing things," nor were her preferences requested when decisions were pending. In short, the cultural and political climate of the organizations within which she worked had not opened a space for her to function in her own way. Unfortunately, Shepherd's experiences are not unique, as demonstrated by the numbers of "silent and receptive" women described by Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986).

If organizational culture and politics play such an influential role in defining the place of females, these concepts deserve to be addressed in discussions of inclusive education. Because of that focus, I will not be addressing in this paper issues related to textual material, curriculum, or pedagogy. This delimitation should not be read as undermining or ignoring the importance of such issues in shaping women's and girls' experiences in schools. That territory has been mapped by others, and I leave the discussion in their expert hands. My intent here is to pose a number of questions by which to assess the "female-friendliness" of an educational institution in relation to common group processes such as communication, decision-making, problem-solving, interpersonal interactions, group dynamics, and the like. The purpose of this discussion is two-fold: first, to unmask some of the quieter, but no less effective, practices that serve to exclude women and girls from full, meaningful, and authentic participation in the life of their academic community, and, second, to offer a series of questions with which others may reflect upon the nature of their own organizations with respect to the place and voice given to women and girls.

What happens to the voices of women and girls in group deliberations?

The question of whose voice is heard has received considerable attention over the years, and shocking stories have been told of boys and men enjoying far more opportunities to speak than do girls and women. Much of the evidence for this phenomenon has been gathered from students in school (e.g., Sadker & Sadker, 1986). Unfortunately, the stories do not end when girls graduate from high school. Here are two excerpts from women in university classes:

> Two students who received "A" on their assignments were asked to read their papers to the rest of the class. When the male student had the floor, he received the undivided attention of the class. However, when the female student read her essay, there was a perceptible change in the classroom environment. She did not get our undivided attention. She received a clear message that very few students were interested in hearing why she had received an "A". In order to gain control of the class, she turned to the professor for support. None was given. (Fleming, et al., 1991, p. 9)

> The professor did not have to answer my questions because the male students would respond before I had finished a sentence. The attacks were aimed at me personally rather than at the points I was raising. This pattern of attack became so vicious that even the professor referred to it as having to "hold back the wolves." (Fleming, et al., 1991, pp. 7-8)

The stories of many women educators are not much different from the students', nor is my own story. Several times in school committee and staff meetings, I fed my ideas to an influential man just so they would be heard by the rest of the group. I had learned that if I wanted to have input into group deliberations, I could not voice my own ideas.

Silent voices are the most obvious. When women and girls simply do not speak, most enlightened people notice. They may or may not try to engage the females in the conversation, but they notice. The more subtle form of losing voice, however, is when women and girls do speak, but their thoughts are ridiculed, ignored, attacked, or otherwise diminished in significance, relative to the thoughts of males. Even though we may have opportunities for our voices to be heard, the words we speak go unheeded. In female-friendly schools, women and girls are not only welcomed into discussions, but their thoughts are treated with respect, attention is paid to their ideas, and they are personally acknowledged for their participation.

To what extent are the thoughts or preferences of women and girls reflected in decisions?

Many people have argued about the need to examine and redress power imbalances in our institutions (e.g., Aronowitz, 1994; Blackmore, 1989). One attempt to balance the power relations in schools has been to move women and girls into formal leadership and decision-making roles, such as school principals, system superintendents and directors, and school council leaders. In these roles, they are generally included when decisions are made about school directions, operations, expectations, and the like. Furthermore, moves toward site-based management and collaborative leadership admit women who are not formal leaders into the arena of decision-making. However, having access to decision-making processes does not automatically mean having a say in the decisions. For many, the process is a hollow one, as seen in this woman's comment:

> It's difficult to work in a collaborative setting when it's imposition from the top down. I guess that's why I'm frustrated. I was asked to go on a committee for Phys Ed a while ago and I just said no, because I didn't

> think my input would count, and I didn't think the collaborative process worked at a higher level. (Mitchell, 1995, p. 171)

In many cases, the discourse is intended not to consider multiple perspectives but to convince women of the "rightness" of the dominant way of thinking (Ferguson, 1984; Smyth, 1992). If the final decisions do not reflect the input of women and girls, then their involvement in decision-making has not been authentic, and the power imbalances have not been redressed. I do not mean to imply that the ideas of women and girls should control all decisions, but if their ideas seldom, if ever, make it to the final outcome, then the school is not particularly female-friendly.

How often do the concerns of women and girls get placed on the problem-solving agenda?

Agenda-setting seems to be problematic at many levels of educational life. In a study of women in high administrative positions in Australian educational institutions, Blackmore (1989) found that these women had little opportunity to influence the critical issues that received the attention and resources of the institution. Instead, they were "informed of, and not informing of, the agenda and priorities" (p. 30). Likewise, when my daughter was in grade three, she was elected, along with a male student, as class president. During her tenure, I watched her frustration as Jason told her what they were going to do. Not once in that entire year was she able to influence the agenda for class discussions or class decisions. That pattern continued throughout her school career. In university, her art courses often took the form of critiques of one another's works. I remember her cries of frustration when she told me about the number of times the men's art was critiqued first, and given ample consideration, and the women's was hurriedly considered in the waning minutes of class time.

When women and girls have little or no space to set the agenda for group deliberations, organizational attention is directed toward issues that may not be of deep concern to females. In schools, little enough time is given to collective consideration of problems, and limited resources are available for problem resolution. In many cases, the limited time and resources are spent dealing with issues raised by males, and not much is left over for the concerns of females. Identifying the critical problems may seem quite straightforward and innocent, but if the problems that women and girls see as key seldom hit the organizational agenda, it is neither straightforward nor innocent.

To what extent do women and girls have access to important information or key organizational resources?

As early as 1979, Rosabeth Moss Kanter argued that female leaders were disadvantaged by their lack of access to critical information or organizational resources. Feuer (1988) agrees: "Unfortunately, women often are cut off from the information channels of communication broadcast via the 'old boys' network in the organization. This makes it almost impossible for them to find out what they need to know to become politically sophisticated" (p. 28). And not only politically sophisticated, but also organizationally potent. Kanter points out that others within an organization tend to align themselves with people who can distribute the "goodies" of the organization. If women have neither the information to know what the reward systems are nor the resources with which to distribute them, their credibility within the organization is undermined, their influence is limited, and their place is threatened.

One of the first steps in dealing with this issue is to identify which are the "important" committees and where the "important" information is located. In many cases, women and girls sit on a lot of committees and receive a lot of information, but they don't often have access to the information and decision-making bodies that control the monetary, recognition, and promotion benefits of the organization. For example, many of the girls I taught in high school sat on a number of student committees and held positions on student council, but they did most of the "grunt work" and seldom were involved in selecting the students who would receive awards or other kinds of recognition. The rights, responsibilities, and opportunities to which women and girls are entitled remain problematic in many educational institutions, because few females are in positions of authority by which to assure that rights are protected, that responsibilities are evenly balanced, and that opportunities are equally distributed.

To what extent do women and girls influence group norms?

Whenever groups of people come together for some common purpose, expectations of behaviour and social norms develop. These norms and expectations may not be explicit, but they certainly shape people's experiences within the group. Both Reynolds (1995) and Blackmore (1989) describe how the women educational administrators in their studies were socialized into ways of operating that were not necessarily their own:

> Maureen . . . recalls that in the 1970's, "When you went to meetings at the principal level, there were very few of us and there were times when I purposely said that I didn't want to be identified with the other women. I've come to see that I really wasn't getting support from the men, and I don't feel awkward now about sitting down beside a group of women. Until someone pointed it out to me, I wasn't aware of how I was coping and giving in to things, accepting those sexist jokes. I used to laugh because I wanted to be one of the boys. I don't laugh anymore. (Reynolds, pp. 139-140)
>
> Each [woman] felt they had necessarily become partially encultured in the sense that they learned, as Susan put it, "when to speak and when not to speak, to conserve one's energy for important issues." Some made choices to "play the game" more than others. Kerry argued that "if I am going to relate to male managers then I have to speak their language. It doesn't mean that I have to become a man. It is just an approach. (Blackmore, p. 31)

How sad that women and girls believe they have to learn to "speak the male language." Why isn't "female language" considered to be as normal as "male language"? And it isn't just the language. It has to do with behavioural expectations in a wide variety of school settings. If men and boys are setting the norms and standards for behaviour, then women and girls are disadvantaged.

In my first year of graduate school, the norm-setter was a woman who had come to graduate school after many years of teaching Physical Education and coaching girls' sports teams. She could beat the men on the badminton court, she was funny and articulate, and she knew how to pull a team together. These skills served to shoot her to the top of our "social order." That year, I heard no sexist jokes or offensive remarks. The norms of our group were to be helpful and co-operative, to meet together often for fun and support, to include everyone in our activities, and to "get the thesis done." That group is still remembered in the department as one of the best groups ever. What I recall the most vividly is feeling "at home" in a way that I had seldom felt in other educational settings. When women and girls have influence over the group norms, they do feel comfortable, confident, and competent, not like strangers in their own land.

How safe are women and girls in the school?

The issues of sexual harassment and physical safety are of deep concern to many educators. The stories of how women and girls, even in schools, suffer at the hands of males chill to the bone (e.g., Bristor, 1993; Duffy, 1995; Fleming et al., 1991; Smith, McCoy, & Bourne, 1995). Even if the abusive behaviour is noticed, it often goes unchecked (Smith, et al., p. 17). Assessing the school's environment on this question means more than simply noting the incidences -- it also means noting the responses of people in positions of authority, teachers and administrators alike. If steps are taken to reduce the violence, women and girls are safer than when the behaviours are shrugged off as "boys will be boys."

Perhaps a more subtle form of abusive behaviour has to do with disrespectful interaction patterns such as this one:

> Some of my colleagues would shout from up to 30 feet away or snap their fingers when they wanted a female staff member's (or colleague's) attention. Once when a colleague was shouting at me to "come here," I kept walking and turned the corner so I wouldn't have to respond to such an abrasive summons; he shouted more and more loudly until I finally responded. (Bristor, 1993, p. 27)

Experiences such as this are familiar to many females. Not only are we often disregarded or discounted, but we are also often subjected to treatment that undermines our confidence in our own ability and that threatens our physical and emotional safety. Zero tolerance for such treatment is the only solution.

Using the questions

The foregoing questions constitute a brief and somewhat simplified framework for assessing the "female-friendliness" of the schools in which we work and learn. Using these questions to reflect on the current social order within one's school can paint a picture of how comfortable, confident, and competent women and girls are likely to feel in that context. But two questions, at least, remain: Who? and How?

It's not enough to simply lay out some assessment criteria. Someone needs to take responsibility for making it happen. However, in many cases, raising the questions is tantamount to challenging existing formal and informal power structures, and those in power are not always happy to have their privilege questioned, much less threatened. Nor do they necessarily see that a problem exists. Delpit (1988) argues that those who are advantaged by the status quo do not understand that the "normal way of doing things" is only *one* way of doing things, and not necessarily the best way. For them, the current reality *is* reality, and they do not react kindly to attempts to reconstruct the social order. Unfortunately, people who are aware of the dislocations are often on the lower end of the organizational hierarchy, and as such have limited power to be heard or to place the issues on the agenda. So who can or should bear responsibility for raising the questions and for reading the context?

Over the years, many women have raised just such questions in their schools and organizations, and for many years, a number of them have felt like "voices crying in the wilderness." But the voices are becoming stronger. Many women now hold influential positions and speak with a credible voice. Those of us who enjoy such privilege are challenged to risk the security of that privilege and speak out against the lack of place and voice offered to other females within our institutions. Those of us who teach are challenged to confront the discrimination our female students suffer, and to call to account those who discriminate or otherwise abuse. And those of us who still feel disempowered or disenfranchised are not off the hook. We, too, must continue to raise questions about the treatment of females in our organizations. The chorus of voices deconstructing the dominant "male" social order is louder than in the past, but the task is not yet completed, and a new social order has not yet been established. The culture and politics of many organizations continue to weigh heavily against women and girls, and we are challenged to pursue inclusive norms and structures wherever we find ourselves.

The question of how that pursuit might most effectively unfold is also of interest. Over many years of consulting with company executives, Argyris (1993) has found that unsupported assertions and undocumented attributions lead mainly to defensive behaviours and rarely to systemic change and improvement. In order to move participants beyond defences into a critical analysis of current conditions, he presses them to provide factual data to support their assertions and attributions. In short, he encourages them to share stories of personal experiences. Such a methodology could provide women and girls with a solid foundation upon which to base critiques of their contexts. The anecdotes in this paper demonstrate the power of story to move hearts and to change minds. In the assessment of any school or other organization, reflection upon the current reality needs to be accompanied by a collection of personal experiences and documented incidents in order to bury opposition and backlash under a blizzard of details and data. The narratives offer indisputable evidence of the conditions under which women and girls work and learn. Passion and rhetoric may set the style for our discussions, but story will add the substance.

Conclusion

I do not wish to leave the impression that I think all women and girls are great and all men and boys are horrible. I have a son whom I think is quite wonderful, some of my best friends are men, and some of my strongest supports come from male colleagues. Nor do I think that women's ways of doing things are necessarily superior than are men's. However, I do think that males and females live in very different worlds, for whatever reasons, and that those differences affect their access to the goods of society (Tavris, 1992). The issues addressed here are not intended to target individuals but to highlight systemic practices in organizational politics and cultures that keep women and girls from taking a more authentic and powerful role in their organizations and schools. I argue that too much time and attention has been paid to pointing fingers of blame at others, and too little paid to exploring strategies for highlighting and critiquing the rules and norms by which we live, learn, and work.

Stone (1995) cautions against such an approach. While she acknowledges the power of systemic structures, she urges us to look inside as well as outside:

> There are other forces within what I want to call the general condition of "relative powerlessness." To understand this insight, a first step is to recognize that discrimination among us is both a systemic and an individual matter. To say that it is less the faults of particular individuals -- to move to a structuralist explanation -- lets us off the hook. (p. 16)

I wish to acknowledge this perspective, but while I agree that at times "our own actions contribute to relative powerlessness" (Stone, p. 16), I argue that the politics and the culture of our organizations are not always friendly, and are often downright unfriendly, to females. If the system supports one "way of being" and not another, and that way of being has not been influenced by females, then women are likely to find themselves operating from rules and norms that are unfamiliar, unnatural, and uncomfortable. In such a context, our tendencies to "sabotage" ourselves (Feuer, 1988) may be as much a survival strategy as a "victim" behaviour.

One last word: This discussion has primarily been aimed at assessing organizations in terms of the treatment of women and girls. However, the questions are more generic than that. The issues and concerns they address are not exclusive to women, but are fundamental human relations themes that can be used to assess the inclusiveness of any context relative to any group of people. I've chosen to frame the questions in reference to women and girls not to exclude any other group but because that is the group to which I belong.

References

Aronowitz, S. (1994). *Dead artists, live theories and other cultural problems.* New York: Routledge.

Argyris, C. (1993). *Knowledge for action: A guide to overcoming barriers to organizational change.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Belenky, M. F., Clinchy, B. M., Goldberger, N. R., & Tarule, J. M. (1986). *Women's ways of knowing: The development of self, voice, and mind.* New York: Basic Books.

Blackmore, J. (1989). Changing from within: Feminist educators and administrative leadership. *Peabody Journal of Education, 66*(3), 19-40.

Bristor, J. M. (1993). A chilly campus climate: One woman's story. *Educational Record, 74*(1), 27-28.

Collinson, V. (1989). Women moving into administrative positions. *The Canadian School Executive, 18*(10), 3-7.

Delpit, L. (1988). The silenced dialogue: Power and pedagogy in educating other people's children. *Harvard Educational Review, 58*(3), 280-298.

Duffy, A. (1995). The feminist challenge: Knowing and ending the violence. In N. Mandell, (Ed.), *Feminist issues: Race, class, and sexuality* (pp. 152-184). Scarborough, ON: Prentice Hall.

Ferguson, K. (1984). *A feminist case against bureaucracy*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Feuer, D. (1988). How women manage. *Training, 25*(8), 23-31.

Fleming, M., Habib, N., Horley, T., Jones-Caldwell, M., Moules, K., Waserman, L., & Wehbi, S. (1991). Gender, power, and silence in the classroom: Our experiences speak for themselves. *Lexicon,* March 6, pp. 7-10.

Kanter, R. M. (1979). Power failure in management circuits. *Harvard Business Review, 57*(4), 65-75.

Mainiero, L. A. (1994). On breaking the glass ceiling: The political seasoning of powerful women executives. *Organizational Dynamics, 22*(4), 5-20.

Mitchell, C. (1995). *Teachers learning together: Organizational learning in an elementary school.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, SK.

Reynolds, C. (1995). In the right place at the right time: Rules of control and woman's place in Ontario schools, 1940-1980. *Canadian Journal of Education, 20*(2), 129-145.

Sadker, M., & Sadker, D. (1986). Sexism in the classroom: From grade school to graduate school. *Phi Delta Kappan, 67*(7), 512-515.

Shepherd, L. J. (1993). *Lifting the veil: The feminine face of science.* Boston: Shambhala.

Smith, D., McCoy, L., & Bourne, P. (1995). *Gender and schooling papers, no. 1. Girls and schooling: Their own critique.* Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

Smyth, J. (1992). Teachers' work and the politics of reflection. *American Educational Research Journal, 29*(2), 267-300.

Stone, L. (1995). Ruminations on today's feminisms. *Applying Research to the Classroom, 13*(1), 15-18.

Tavris, C. (1992). *The mismeasure of woman.* New York: Simon & Schuster.

Coral Mitchell, Faculty of Education, Brock University, St. Catharines, ON, L2S 3A1. (905) 688-5550x4413 (phone), (905) 688-0544 (fax), cmitchel@dewey.ed.brocku.ca (e-mail).

Understanding Gender Equity in Education Through Narrative

This is a story about Leslie. Leslie is a teacher who recently has developed a strong interest in gender equity in education -- an interest that emerged from her understanding of her personal self in relation to the traditional classroom she experienced as a student. I first met Leslie as a student in a graduate level course I taught on understanding teaching through autobiographical narrative. About three years later, Leslie approached me about supervising a self-study course in which she wanted to investigate the use of a narrative perspective to understand gender equity. It was at this point that I learned of the ongoing effect of the course and, more specifically, the effect of self-understanding on her thinking and viewed her story as a useful case of an alternative perspective to teacher development in understanding and facilitating gender equity in education, particularly in terms of the treatment of females. Thus the intent of this paper is to draw attention, through Leslie's story, to the narrative way of knowing and the relationship to dealing with women's voice in education. The story is being told by me (the first author) who will outline the narrative context and by Leslie, who will describe the personal meaning she recovered in relation to this context.

Narrative as a Way of Knowing

Although narrative or storytelling has existed, perhaps, from the beginning of human existence, and traditionally has served as an important way of creating meaning, it is only recently that it has been advocated and adopted by researchers as a formal way of making sense of human actions (Bruner, 1990; Polkinghorne, 1988; Sarbin, 1992). This shift is associated with the view that narrative is the primary form by which human experience is made meaningful. As Polkinghorne(1988) noted:

> Narrative is a meaning structure that organizes events and human actions into a whole, thereby attributing significance to individual actions and events according to their effect on the whole. [p. 18]

Bruner (1986), on the other hand, described narrative as one of two basic modes of cognitive functions, the other being the logico-scientific or paradigmatic mode. Whereas the paradigmatic mode (more suited to scientific domains) is concerned with general causes and their establishment and establishes truth by formal verification procedures and empirical proof, the narrative mode (more suited to humanistic domains) "deals in human and human-like action and the vicissitudes and consequences that mark their course"(p. 13) and establishes truth-likenesses by criticism and interpretation of text. Thus the narrative mode focuses on the meaning of experience.

As a meaning structure, narrative provides a basis for meaning recovery and meaning construction. The narrative we construct or the stories we tell reflect who we are and what we may become (Bruner, 1990; Polkinghorne, 1988; Sarbin, 1992; Spence, 1982) and thus facilitates interpretation and understanding of our experiences. Through narrative, we could seek out the framework that one uses to create meaning in cultural contexts. Thus self narrative provides valuable means of understanding the past events of one's life and for planning future actions or facilitating change.

Recovering meaning through Narrative Knowing

In recent years there has been a growing interest in using self-reflection (Schon, 1983) as a means of enhancing teacher development. More specifically, it has been promoted in education that exploring images, metaphors and the stories we tell ourselves and to others, represent promising avenues for self-exploration collectively as well as individually, for the purpose of understanding one's self in general, and one's teaching in particular (Carter, 1993; Connelly & Clandinin, 1988; Elbaz, 1991). Connelly & Clandinin (1988) describe images as:

> ... something within our experience, embodied in us as persons and expressed and enacted in our practices and actions. ... [They are] part of our past, called forth by situations in which we act in the present and are guides to our future.

While this definition of image is focused on teachers and teaching, metaphors, on the other hand, tend to take on a more generic use as Lakoff and Johnson (1980) proposed.

> If we are right in suggesting that our conceptual system is largely metaphorical, then the way we think, what we experience and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor. (p. 3)

Thus both images and metaphors are integral to the narrative process and are of particular importance in self-exploration. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980) note, metaphors are central to the search

> for what unifies our diverse experiences in order to give coherence to our lives. Just as we seek out metaphors to highlight and make coherent what we have in common with someone else, so we seek out personal metaphors to highlight and make coherent our own pasts, our present activities, and our dreams, hopes, and goals, as well. A large part of self-understanding is the search for appropriate personal metaphors that make sense of our lives. (p. 232-233)

It is in this context of narrative knowing that Leslie's self-exploration took place.

The process Leslie participated in focused on the recovery of images or personal metaphors that connect a teacher's personal life to his/her classroom behaviour. Only a summary of the key activities of the process will be described here. They will also be described as particular to Leslie as a means of developing her story. These activities involved recovering meaning from self-stories and interviews and constructing an autobiographical narrative around this meaning.

I. Recovering meaning from self-stories

With this activity, Leslie began the process of self-exploration. First, she was required to write three stories. Each story was of a personal experience in her teaching, included as much details as possible (when, where, with whom, feelings, thoughts, actions, etc.) and was telling of her classroom behaviour. The stories were not to include any analysis or theorizing of her teaching, or her students. Instead, they were to describe the events as they happened, i.e., give a detail, literal description of the actual situations.

Next, Leslie reviewed her three stories for themes or patterns underlying her behaviour in the stories. This process involved trying to get some sense of a holistic view of the stories with respect to the behaviours reflected in them as opposed to analyzing each story in a fragmented manner. To do this, one has to "stand back" from the stories and consider, for example, the conflicts, tensions and harmony manifested in one's behaviour and thinking in relation to that of others in the stories. The themes or patterns recovered were treated as emerging images which Leslie was required to express as a word or phrase. At this point, this word or phrase was intended to function as a vehicle for her to travel inwards into her experiences. It provided a focus to elicit depth in her reflection. She was required to reflect on the word in terms of its absence or presence in her life story and what it meant to her socially and professionally through the way it was and continued to be manifested in her experiences. The reflection had to be from her perspective and was not to take place only within the boundaries of the stories, but within those of her life as a person and a teacher. Thus she was to go beyond the literal meanings reflected in the stories to get to a deeper understanding of the meaning and roots of the emerging image. She then used this process to investigate other themes of which she became aware in the other activities.

II. Recovering meaning through "interviews"

This activity occurred at a point when Leslie and her classmates were more familiar with each other and had developed the sense of trust and mutual respect among them that was necessary for this activity to be effective. They "researched" each other's personal and professional narratives working collaboratively in groups of four (one "participant"/interviewee and three "researchers"/interviewers) and conducting a narrative interview. The main purpose of the interview was for the interviewers to recover an image or some meaning of how the interviewee made sense of his/her world, and in the process of doing so, get a better understanding of the process of recovering meaning from stories of personal experiences which they could then apply to "research" their own situations and to construct their own story with more depth. To facilitate the process, the interviewees supplied their interviewers with a personal object that meant something to them. This meaning was not necessarily important in that the goal was not for the interviewers to find out or use this meaning. Also, the object was not to be taken literally, but viewed as an embodiment of some meaning of how the interviewee made sense of his/her world. Thus it was to be used as a means of entering the interviewee's experiences. It also provided the focus necessary to keep the activity manageable within the time constraints imposed on it.

The "interview" began without Leslie. The object she supplied (a family photograph) was given to the interviewers. They worked individually and collectively to determine a tentative group meaning. Working collaboratively, they planned and conducted an interview that was conversational in nature and based on sharing stories, with Leslie. The interviewers then collaborated on the interview data, without Leslie, to determine a meaning or metaphor. They conducted brief follow-up "interviews" with her to clarify specific information in their "transcripts". Finally, they shared the meaning they recovered with her, got her view of it and collaborated with her on any adjustments to it.

For Leslie, this activity was critical in allowing her to identify an image that was meaningful to her. She explained:

> *Overall, I found this process to be extremely powerful. It was also exciting and satisfying. It was effective because it allowed me to reflect on my experiences in a way I never had. It helped me to focus deeper into myself in responding to personal questions posed by the interviewers that I had not thought of or been asked before. It was a helpful way to discover my image. It seems to be more effective than the meaning recovery from the self-stories activity.*

III. Constructing an autobiographical narrative

The final activity required Leslie to construct an autobiographical narrative of her teaching, focusing on the specific image she identified in the preceding activities in terms of the meaning it provided for her teaching. Thus the narrative reflected the understanding she had developed of her teaching and her self in terms of the image she recovered. The narrative had to be experiential in that all claims she made about her teaching or the way she made sense of her world had to unfold through accounts of personal and professional events. It also had to be temporal in that it portrayed her classroom behaviours as they unfolded over the years of her teaching, how the image identified evolved over time within her personal experiences and some consideration of the future. She was required to focus only on the image that was most pervasive in her behaviour and deal with it in as much depth as possible.

Because of limitation on space it is not possible to reproduce all of Leslie's narrative, so only excerpts from it will be included in what follows.

Leslie's Personal Meaning

I was enrolled in a course that introduced me to the idea of using narratives to uncover the image in my life. I had no idea there was such a thing as a "central image" and I certainly had no idea that this image could play such an important part in every aspect of may life. (...)

The image strongest for me, the image that allows me to make sense of my world is social connectedness, or social circle. It is an image characterized by sharing, caring and empathy. If I were to represent this image in a physical form it would appear as a circle with me near its center. I have discovered that it is through humour, encouragement, entertainment, emancipation, and openness that I maintain this circle. (...)

The following portions of the autobiographical narrative I constructed illustrate the influences on the development of this image in my life and the influences of this image on my teaching.

(...) I grew up in a family that was closely connected. I was an integral part of both my parents' lives. We were a family that was also actively involved in the world of entertainment, as my father was a professional singer and drummer. If my dad was not bringing home friends from the entertainment world he was bringing me autographed pictures of them. I always felt special when I saw one of these pictures autographed to me. (...)

Part of the joy of these occasions was listening to my dad and mom tell their intriguing stories. They had a special talent for capturing their multi-aged audience. I found this to be a gift that I truly admired and tried to emulate on a number of occasions as a young girl. (...)

I recall my mom and dad always having a strong sense of community or social structure. There always seemed to be family or friends around. We were either at their place or they were at ours. It was this type of environment that I tried to create for myself. (...)

My parents were understanding people and also excellent listeners. They encouraged me to be open with my feelings. (...) I admired the patience and concern that my parents showed me and I tried to offer these qualities to my friends. They would often come to me with their problems and I would listen and try to help them in whatever way I could. (...)

As an adult, looking back at this important time in my life, my childhood, it has become evident to me that my most powerful image, social connectedness, was created by my mom and dad and their interaction with people. I quickly learned that through their ability to understand, humour and entertain others that they were able to create their circles, their social connection. As a young child it was this image that I began to use to make sense of my world. I would create my own circles and community whether it be with my dolls, my friends or my family. When I *think back to this time it may have even been the apartment's community spirit or even structure that further enhanced this image. We were in many ways one big family. As I entered adulthood social connectedness became an even stronger image for me both socially and professionally. (...)*

I made my classroom an inviting, pleasant place for the students. I brought in my stuffed animals and explained their importance. I then encouraged the students to bring in something that they cherished and if they were comfortable enough, to explain why. Everyone of them took me up on this offer. My school day would often involve story-telling, and it usually included a personal story about myself. I talked about my family and friends. I now realize that I did this to become more connected. On most occasions I tried to make the stories funny. However, at times my stories revolved around the importance of caring for others, and I would ask the students to think about ways they could show this concern. I often explained to them that they, as well as I, should model, dialogue, practice and confirm what a caring community would be. (...)

The one student that I still remember during my second year at Latona is Jim. It was from my time with Jim that I realized the power of sharing my personal life with my students, the power of understanding my students and taking the time to listen to them. ... I feel that Jim made great personal and academic gains during my year with him because I allowed him to see me as a real person.

Jim was a student who, the year before I met him, caused havoc in the school. ... I found out from the staff that Jim loved to play the drums. I believed I had found the key to connect with this troubled boy. I had mentioned to my class within the first few weeks of school about my family, especially about my dad being a drummer. Well, Jim's eyes began to dance. He immediately wanted to know what type of drums my dad had, where he played and if I liked the drums. I informed him that I loved the drums but just couldn't grasp how to play them, but encouraged him to show me how. I suppose I made Jim aware of the connection we had. I felt that if Jim had a connection with me, that if we had some sort of common interest, he would truly begin to learn and change some of his negative behaviour. I also realized that he could be a real positive force in the class or a real negative one. I did not want the latter, as it would have destroyed my circle, my connection with the students. (...) My ability to develop a personal bond with this student proved successful both personally and academically. (...)

Leslie's image provided an interpretative framework for her to make sense of experiences in her past that were confusing for her at the time they occurred. One area where this was significantly meaningful for her was her early years as a student.

Silenced as a Student

Through my image, I can now make sense of some of the struggles I encountered as a student. I now realize that it was as a student in elementary school that I began to have difficulty making the connections I needed in order to feel comfortable. I have finally been able to identify why I was unable to create my circle, my social connectedness in this context. A great deal of the difficulty I had, I now know was in part due to gender inequity in the classroom. I am also aware of the fact that there would be no way that I could label what happened to me in elementary school as gender inequity at that time. (...) I've learned through my readings and reflections that my experience in elementary school was like a lot of young females' experiences. I believe I received in many ways a different education than the males in many of my classes. I felt that, for example, the males were often given more attention by the teacher than I was. (...) This inequity came as a shock to me as it severely interfered with my ability to make the connections I needed with my teachers and my classmates. I needed to be *listened to and given time to respond to the information we were learning. It seemed that many of my teachers had no time for my stories, had no time to validate the personal experiences I brought to the learning environment. However, there seemed to be time for the males in class to be given opportunity. (...) I'll always remember in grade 5 when the class was having a discussion on sports. Of course it was the males that began the conversation but I felt I had something important to contribute because my brother played hockey and I watched Hockey Night in Canada on a regular basis. However, when I tried to voice my opinion about hockey I was ignored not only by the males in my class but by my teacher as well. It really was too bad that the majority of teachers I had did not have the skills to evaluate classroom discussion and interaction and intervene to ensure that females could share their knowledge and experiences as much as the males. (...) I have also found through the years that I learn best in a collaborative learning environment where conversation and sharing of ideas are encouraged, another reflection of my image. Unfortunately this type of environment rarely existed for me. In many cases the classroom structure was basically designed to foster non-collaborative thinking. I remember trying to discuss problems or situations that came up in class with my peers but this was usually discouraged by my teachers. (...) Nevertheless, I recall verbalizing my frustration about not being able to collaboratively interact with my classmates and being severely reprimanded for doing so. A number of my teachers felt that it was not polite or "ladylike" for me to be so loud and aggressive in stating my frustrations. They had a problem with me being assertive and stating how I felt about the negative structure of the class. (...) As a result of this inequitable structure it was increasingly difficult for me to make the connections I needed in order to complete my circle. I realized that if I was not a valued member of the class it would be nearly impossible for me to create the social connectedness I needed in order to feel a sense of balance, a sense of community. Of course there were many other incidents that occurred throughout my education where I felt silenced and unable to connect with those around me but these were the situations that I found most memorable and that subsequently had a major impact on my view of education.*

Pursuing Gender Issues

(...) Gender issues have affected me and have subsequently made me more aware of any inequities in the classroom but especially aware of those inequities that involve gender. Over the past five years I have been involved with gender issues not only on a school basis but on a system basis as well. I have paid close attention to those women in the system who I feel have addressed gender issues in their particular roles within my school board. It is these women that I admired and have tried to connect with in a project to listen to their voice. My experience with the narrative process, particularly the "interview", made me see this approach as a menaingful way of gaining insights into how others experienced and viewed gender equity. So I decided to use it to connect with five women in leadership positions in education. Gender equity was the topic of our conversations because it was a topic that was of interest to all of us. (...) Through this process, I not only hoped to understand how other women viewed gender equity, I was also interested to see if any of their stories about gender equity would be similar to my experiences. (...)

What I found interesting was that the two themes/issues that I identified as being important for all of the women were in fact the two that have had an impact on my life as well. Firstly, we had all developed a commitment to supporting and enabling other women. (...) For many of them, this evolved as a result of their leadership positions. The other issue/theme that spoke to all of us was the issue of being silenced or excluded at some time in our lives. We may have *dealt with this silence or exclusion differently but it was an issue we had all faced. (...)*

One of the women explained that she attended a meeting where there were mostly men. There were about three women. The talk time was predominantly taken up by the males in the room. She interjected at one point in the meeting and made a point and everyone attended to it but no one responded or took off on her point. But very shortly after, a man made her point and other people heard it. The same thing happened when the other women volunteered ideas. She added, "That's so frustrating. You know you start doubting yourself and eventually you do not say anything." Similar situations were reported by some of the other women, with similar reaction of questioning their "strengths and talents". (...) In telling her story, one woman realized that she would use humour to get the men's attention and then say what she wanted to say. (...)

I felt that these women got where they are because, like me, they are determined and persistent individuals who are not easily sidetracked in meeting their goals or desires in life. Roadblocks, like the exclusion we experienced, may be placed in front of us but we all seem to have the ability to work around or through them. (...)

I felt the narrative approach that I used was powerful in allowing me to connect with these women, allowing them to connect with themselves and allowing me to reconnect with myself by resonating in their stories. (...) For me it was narrative that enabled me to gain access to my personal knowledge. I guess in some ways I was hoping that the narrative would do the same for these women. I feel that it did considering the quality of their stories and the understanding they gained about themselves. Narratives enabled these women to not only reflect on their past experiences and make meaning of these situations but also to continue asking themselves questions in regards to their present behaviour in the context of gender equity.

Implications Regarding Gender Issues

Leslie now understands gender equity on a level she had not previously considered. The silencing she experienced and observed in others was not merely a result of cultural stereotyping regarding acceptable behaviour for women, but more critically, a lack of recognition of her way of knowing; her interpretive framework; her personal image/metaphor. While the former may be receiving corrective attention in today's climate of political correctness, the latter is likely to continue to be problematic for females who themselves are unlikely to be aware of it, as was Leslie. I have heard teachers claim that there was no gender inequity in their classrooms. What they usually mean by this is inclusion based on physical presence and acknowledging that presence by allowing one to talk. This interpretation was also reflected in the stories of the women Leslie interviewed in terms of their experiences in being administrators and working with male counterparts. But from Leslie's story, inclusion is more than allowing one to physically be there and allowing one to say something. It also involves recognizing one from one's way of knowing, one's way of making sense of the world. For Leslie, not being able to collaborate in the classroom was exclusion.

Gilligan (1982) and Belenky et. al., (1986) have described ways of knowing that are characteristic to women and Leslie's image does reflect these characteristics. However, although these are useful to make us aware of alternative ways of knowing, to blindly apply them to all women will also lead to exclusion. What seems to be more useful is to sensitize teachers and school administrators to the existence of alternative ways of knowing that are inherently "written" into one's life or one's narrative. But simply telling them that females should be included would not necessarily help them to understand how beyond the physical inclusion. Using a narrative approach to help them understand gender equity in terms of the interpretative framework that gives meaning to how one makes sense of the world could be a promising route of providing more opportunities for meaningful inclusion. Leslie has been sensitized to this level of inclusion by the narrative experience and listens to her students differently to connect with them and make sure they are and feel included. From her experience with the women she interviewed, she found that the mere narrative interview was sensitizing them to gender inequity they experienced and how they had accepted it by turning against themselves and questioning their abilities and to rethink or "restory" it in future experiences.

Conclusion

From Leslie's story, a narrative process seems to be a promising route to create awareness and understanding of gender equity in terms of alternative ways individuals use to make sense of their world. Recognition of these ways is important to facilitate inclusion in a meaningful and productive manner in the classroom.

References

Belenky, M. et. al. (1986). *Women's ways of knowing: The development of self, voice and mind.* New York: Basic Books, Inc.

Bruner, J. (1990). *Acts of meaning.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bruner, J. (1986). *Actual minds, possible worlds.* Cambridge, MA:Harvard University Press.

Carter, K. (1993). The place of story in the study of teaching and teacher education. *Educational Researcher,* 22, (1).

Connelly, F.M., & Clandinin, D.J. (1988). *Teachers as curriculum planners:narratives of experience.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Elbaz, F. (1991). Research on teacher's knowledge: The evolution of a discourse. *Journal of Curriculum Studies,* 23.

Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice.* Cambridge, MA: Ok University Press.

Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Polkinghorne, D. (1988). *Narrative knowing and the human sciences.* Albany,NY: State University of New York Press.

Sarbin, T. (1986). *Narrative psychology: The storied nature of human conduct.* New York: Praeger.

Schon,D.A. (1983). *The reflective practitioner: How professionals think in action.* New York: Basic Books.

Spence, D. (1982). *Narrative truth and historical truth: Meaning and interpretation in psychoanalysis.* New York: W. W. Norton.

Olive Chapman,The University of Calgary, EDT 1102, Calgary, Alberta. (P)403-220-5640
Leslie Robertson, Clarence Samson Junior High, 5840 24th Avenue, N.E., Calgary,
Alberta. (P) 403-777-7700

Gender Specific Vulnerability: Patterns of Responses on The Children's Depression Inventory by Children with and without Learning Disabilities

Shoshana Ross
Nancy Heath

Abstract

Although a large body of literature exists looking at whether children with learning disabilities are at risk for depression, few studies have assessed gender differences. The purpose of the present study was to assess whether girls with learning disabilities (LD) were at a greater risk for self-reported depressive symptomatology compared to both boys with LD and compared to non-LD girls. In addition, the response patterns on the five factor scores from the Children's Depression Inventory were analyzed for a gender effect, a learning disability effect and possible interaction effects. Ninety four participants (n=23 girls with LD; n=23 boys with LD; n=25 girls without LD; n=23 boys without LD) were identified by the researcher as having a learning disability or not through the administration of the short-form of the Weschler Intelligence Scale for Children- Revised and achievement measures. All participants were also administered the Children's Depression Inventory. Results of the analyses reveal that while girls with LD had a higher mean score on the CDI than boys with LD, this difference was not significant. In addition, girls with LD reported significantly more depressive symptomatology than non-LD girls. Multivariate effects were found on the factor scores for gender and learning disability. However, the gender effect was largely attributable to a gender by learning disability interaction effect for negative self-esteem. The LD effect was due to children with LD reporting higher levels of poor school performance relative to children without LD, regardless of gender. A general pattern was found in the univariate gender by learning disability interaction effects for girls with LD to report more negative self-esteem, more interpersonal problems and more negative mood than their non-LD peers, whereas boys with LD did not differ from their non-LD peers. This gender specific vulnerability to a learning disability is discussed.

Introduction

Within the last twenty years, the prevalence of depression in children has increased markedly (Kazdin, 1990). Prior to research findings which reported that childhood depression is similar to depression manifested by adults, it was believed that children were incapable of experiencing depression (Glaser, 1968; Rie, 1966). For example, many psychoanalytic theorists stipulated that since pre-adolescent children did not possess a sufficiently developed superego, they lacked the capacity to become depressed (Rie, 1966). Other theorists endorsed the view that depression in children was "masked" by other disorders such as abdominal complaints, hyperactivity and poor school performance (Cytryn & McKnew, 1972; Glaser, 1968) However, as evidence accumulated, increased support was found favoring the theory that children and adults shared the same core symptoms of depression (Kazdin, 1990; Maag & Forness, 1991).

The American Psychiatric Association Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV, American Psychiatric Association, 1994) employs the same definition of depression for children over 6 that it does for adults. The criteria for a major depressive disorder are as follows:

At least 5 of the following symptoms must be present during the same 2-week period; at least one of the symptoms is either item (1) or (2),

(1) Depressed mood most of the day, nearly every day. Note: In children

and adolescents, can be irritable mood

(2) Loss of interest or pleasure in all or almost all activities

(3) Significant weight loss or gain or a decrease or increase in appetite. Note: In children consider failure to make expected weight gain

(4) Insomnia or hypersomnia

(5) Psychomotor agitation or retardation

(6) Fatigue or loss of energy

(7) Feelings of worthlessness or excessive or inappropriate guilt

(8) Diminished ability to think or concentrate, or indecisiveness

(9) Thoughts that he/she would be better off dead or suicidal ideation.

While the study of childhood depression is relatively new, even more recent has been the examination of factor scores on the Children's Depression Inventory (CDI). There has been an increased recognition that childhood depression is not unidimensional and may be better reflected by several factors (Kovacs, 1992). In the earlier versions of the CDI, one global score of depression could be obtained. Currently, five factor scores: negative mood, interpersonal problems, ineffectiveness, anhedonia and negative self-esteem, can be derived from the CDI. This provides diagnostic information about the extent that any unitary behavior contributes to a larger set of cognitive, affective or behavioral problems (Kovacs, 1992). Not only are researchers and clinicians able to determine if certain children are depressed but they are also able to analyze which depressive symptoms are most pervasive. For research purposes, these five subscales allow researchers to investigate whether certain groups possess a distinct clustering of symptoms. This increased knowledge would allow for both a better understanding into the nature of depressive symptoms and for a more efficient system of identification for those children who are depressed.

Prevalence

As research accumulated in the field, the question arose as to the extent to which children experienced depression (Kazdin, 1990). Estimates of prevalence rates range depending on the type of inventory (self, peer, teacher or parental) employed (Kazdin, 1990). Using a symptom oriented self-report checklist with a cutoff of 12, Kovacs (1983) estimates the prevelance of depression among school-aged children from a normal non-clinical population, to be around 12%.

Although the prevalence of depression tends to be low in normal school-aged populations, an examination of prevalence rates in special education population reveals a much higher rate of depression, with some studies reporting rates as high as 60% in children referred for learning difficulties (Brumback, Jackoway, & Weinberg, 1980).

Gender Differences

A frequent findings in the adult literature has been that women report significantly higher rates of depression than men (Leon, Klerman, & Wickramaratne, 1993; Nolen-Hoeksema, 1994). Although, this result has been consistently found when examining adult populations, it is less uniform when investigating gender differences in rates of depression in children (Kazdin, 1990; Larson & Melon, 1992; McGee & Williams, 1988; Nolen-Hoeksema & Girgus, 1994; Nolen-Hoeksema, Girgus, & Seligman, 1991). Using self-report measures of depression, the bulk of the literature has found that among pre-pubertal children, boys report greater or comparable rates of depressive symptomatology than girls

(Kazdin, 1990; Lefkowitz & Tesiny, 1985; McGee & Williams, 1988; Nolen-Hoeksema, Girgus, & Seligman, 1991; Rutter, 1986). However a smaller body of research has reported that pre-pubertal girls exhibit a higher prevalence of depressive symptomatology than boys (Boggiano & Barrett, 1992; Larson & Melon, 1992). Thus, it appears that while pre-adolescent boys are more likely to report higher or equal levels of depressive symptomatology than girls, these results must be interpreted cautiously.

Current examinations of gender differences have focused on the response patterns of males and females on depression inventories (Campbell, Byrne, & Baron, 1992; Nolen-Hoeksema & Girgus, 1994; Nolen-Hoeksema, Girgus, & Seligman, 1991). Some theorists have reported that when the CDI is broken down into 5 factors, clear gender differences emerge between those items endorsed by boys and those endorsed by girls (Campbell, Byrne, & Baron, 1992; Nolen-Hoeksema & Girgus, 1994; Nolen-Hoeksema, Girgus, & Seligman, 1991). Some of the studies have reported that boys receive higher scores on behavioral disturbance and anhedonia factors than girls (Nolen-Hoeksema, Girgus, & Seligman, 1991). Other researchers have examined whether particular items are selected more often by males or females. The majority of these studies have found that certain items are more likely to be endorsed by girls than by boys and visa versa (Campbell, Byrne, & Baron, 1992; Nolen-Hoeksema, Girgus, & Seligman, 1991). Typically, researchers have reported that males tend to endorse items which reflect traditional conceptions of masculinity while females are more likely to endorse items which are stereotypically female (Campbell, Byrne & Baron, 1992). Thus, it is possible that the symptoms of depression may be experienced and conceptualized differently in females and males.

Learning Disabilties and Depression

A large body of literature exists investigating the relationship between learning disabilties (LD) and depression. Researchers in this field have found evidence to support the theory that children with LD are at a greater risk for depression than their non-LD peers (Bender & Wall, 1994; Maag & Forness, 1991). However, Heath (1992 a,b; 1993) in her review of the literature, found that children with LD are no more at risk for moderate levels of depression than children without LD, although she found that children with LD, who were depressed were more likely to experience severe levels of depressive symptomatology than non LD depressed children. Thus, it appears that children with LD may be at a greater risk for developing certain types of depressive symptomatology than their non LD peers.

Although, the research conducted on LD and depression has found evidence to support the theory that children with LD may have a greater propensity towards severe levels of depression, there is an absence of literature specifically looking at whether children with LD possess a cluster of depressive symptoms that are unique compared to the depressive symptomatology exhibited by non LD children. It would therefore be useful for both research and practical purposes to investigate whether children with LD manifest the same core symptoms as children without LD and if certain symptoms are exhibited more frequently by children with LD. If children with LD exhibit symptoms of depression which are unique, intervention programs may be implemented in addition to current special education programs to address both the socio-emotional, as well as, cognitive needs of this group.

Depression and Girls with LD

Although a fair body of literature exists looking at whether children with LD, as a group, have a greater propensity towards depression, the literature examining the relationship between LD and depression in girls is sparse. No study has directly measured depression in girls with LD. Rather, the research has focused on assessing whether children with LD exhibit a greater level of depressive symptomatology than their non LD peers and then has tested for significant gender differences (Maag & Reid, 1994; Wright-Strawderman, & Watson, 1992). Although, no significant differences in the prevalence of depression in girls with LD and boys with LD have emerged, these studies have employed extremely small samples of girls with LD. The lack of research examining whether girls with LD have a heightened risk for depression suggests the need to investigate whether gender differences in depression exist within the LD population. In fact, studies have shown that when females are diagnosed with a learning disability, they usually possess deficits which are more severe than their male LD counterparts (Vogel, 1990). In addition, girls with learning disabilities are referred less often for services and remediation than boys with LD (Hassat & Gurian, 1984). Given these factors, it is important to examine whether the propensity towards depression is heightened in girls with LD.

Thus, the present study addresses the gap in existing knowledge by examining girls' with LD self-reported depressive symptomatology with reference to the recent use of factor scores on the CDI. The following research questions will be investigated:

1) Do girls with LD report more depressive symptomatology than boys with LD?

2) Do girls with LD report more depressive symptomatology than non LD girls?

3) Are there response pattern differences due to gender on a self-report symptom oriented depression inventory?

4) Are there response pattern differences due to the learning disability on a self-report symptom oriented depression inventory?

5) Is there a differential effect of the learning disability on girls' versus boys' response pattern on a symptom oriented depression inventory?

Methods

Participants

This study was part of a larger study which examined self-perceptions, achievement and depressive symptomatology in children with and without LD (Heath, 1992). However, the present investigation was a post-hoc re-analysis of existing data using new information regarding gender differences and factor subscales on the CDI (Kovacs, 1992).

A total of 178 children in a suburban school board near Metropolitan Toronto participated in the study. All kindergarten through grade 8 schools with programs for students with LD were approached. A total of five schools were invited to participate. Two schools agreed to take part in the study while three refused due to planned administrative changes. At the request of the administration, only classes that had some identified students with LD enrolled were employed. Seven participants were lost as a result of illness, moving or scheduling difficulties. All participants spoke English at home; were not identified as behavior disordered, emotionally disturbed or as having any exceptionality except for a learning disability. The socio-economic status of the sample was middle income and a total of 94.2% of the sample was Caucasian. All participants were integrated in regular classrooms and withdrawn for remediation as needed at the request of the teacher, parent or students.

Participants were identified as having a learning disability by the researcher if they possessed Average or Above Average intelligence, defined as an IQ estimate of 85 or greater. In addition, participants had to obtain a score on one or more achievement measures of one and a half standard deviations or more below the mean (8th%). For the purposes of this study, all girls with LD were employed (n=23) and 23 out the 27 boys with LD were randomly selected to participate. The non LD group (NLD) was composed of 25 normally achieving girls and 23 normally achieving boys who were randomly selected from the remaining sample of 112.

Measures

Cognitive Measures

A short version of the WISC-R consisting of Block Design and Vocabulary was used to obtain an estimated IQ score. This IQ estimate has been found to correlate .90 with Full Scale IQ (Sattler, 1988)

The Complete Wide-Range Achievement Test-Revised (WRAT-R) levels I and II was employed. The WRAT-R measures single word reading, spelling to dictation and computational arithmetic skills.

Affective Measures

The Children's Depression Inventory (Kovacs, 1983), a twenty-seven item questionnaire was used in order to obtain a measure of self-reported depressive symptomatology. The CDI assesses recognized symptoms of depression and may be broken down into five scales (negative mood, interpersonal problems, ineffectiveness, anhedonia and negative self-esteem). Each of the five scales provides a factor score which may furnish either the researcher or the clinician with diagnostic information about the type and nature of the symptoms experienced by the child (Kovacs, 1992). All items are scored with either a 0, 1 or 2 which indicates the presence or absence of that particular descriptor. Scores between 0 and 54 are possible, with higher scores indicating more reported depressive symptomatology. A number of authors have concluded that the CDI is the optimal self-report measure of depression for children, with good reliability and validity (Kazdin, 1990; Saylor et al., 1984a,b). As the setting for the study was a school a system, the suicide item was omitted from the inventory for ethical reasons.

Procedure

In two of the three participating schools all grade 5 and 8 teachers who had at least some of the school identified students with LD were approached by the researchers. In the remaining school the resource room teacher chose 3 school-identified LD grade 5 with matched (gender, age, race and classroom) controls and, similarly, 5 grade 8 students with LD with matched controls. The researcher was blind to school identification of learning disability.

All potential participants were met initially by the researcher in groups or classes prior to parental consent letters being sent home. In this meeting, the researcher paraphrased the parental consent form to the student and explained the purpose of the research. After this meeting, parental consent forms were sent home with the students. 78% of all students who received a parental consent form returned their form with a positive response.

Participants were seen in three sessions. In the first individual session, all participants were administered the WISC-R short form and the WRAT-R Reading and Spelling subtests. Participants who scored below 85 on the WISC-R were eliminated from the study. In the second session, participants completed the WRAT-R Arithmetic subtest in groups. Finally, in the last session, participants were group administered the CDI and the inventory was read aloud with students following along to ensure comprehension. Students were instructed that the purpose of the CDI was to assess how they had been feeling in the last two weeks. This was done based on research findings which suggest that participants respond in a biased manner when they know that they are being assessed for depression (Reynolds, 1986).

Results

Due to the exploratory nature of the study and the relatively small sample size a less stringent $alpha=.10$ was employed to minimize a Type II error (Stevens, 1996).

To address research questions regarding girls with LD self-report of depresssive symptomatology relative to boys with LD and girls without LD the mean CDI scores of each group were compared. Examination of the CDI scores reveals that girls with LD had the highest mean CDI scores ($X=14.87$, $SD=12.16$) while girls without LD had the lowest mean CDI score ($X=7.16$, $SD=6.16$). Boys with LD had a slightly higher mean CDI score than boys without LD ($X=10.2$, $SD=10.26$; $X= 9.8$, $SD=7.10$), respectively. Using a One-Way Analysis of Variance to examine the significance of these differences it was found that while girls with LD did not report significantly more depressive symptomatology than boys with LD, they did, however, display significantly greater depressive symptomatology than their female non-LD counterparts ($p<.01$). Although, boys with LD had a higher CDI score than boys without LD, this difference was not significant. In addition, girls and boys without LD did not differ significantly in self-reported depressive symptomatology.

To examine the response pattern differences on the CDI due to gender, learning disability and the differential effect of the learning disability based on gender, a two way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was performed with gender (2) and LD/NLD(2) as independent variables and the CDI factors (negative mood, NMD; interpersonal problems, IP; ineffectiveness, IV; anhedonia, AH; negative self-esteem, NSE) as dependent variables. A significant gender effect was found (Wilks' Lambda=.881; $F(5,86)=2.323$, $p<.10$) as well as a LD/NLD effect (Wilk's Lambda = .896; $F(5,86)=1.996$, $p<.10$). However, no multivariate LD/NLD by Gender interaction effect was found (Wilk's Lambda = .942; $F(5,86)=1.050$, n.s.). Thus there was a response pattern difference on the CDI due to gender, as well as an overall difference due to the learning disability, although no overall differential effect of the learning disability on girls' versus boys' response patterns were uncovered.

Univariate examination of main gender effect on all the factors revealed that the only significant gender effect at the univariate level was for negative self-esteem (NSE), with girls reporting significantly ($p<.10$) higher levels of negative self-esteem than boys. However, this finding can only be interpreted with reference to the post-hoc finding of an interaction gender by LD effect for NSE. The interaction reveals that there is a differential effect of the learning disability on girls versus boys. Girls with LD reported significantly and disproportionally more negative self-esteem than girls without LD or boys with or without LD.

Follow-up of the multivariate learning disability effect uncovered two univariate LD effects, one for negative self-esteem ($p<.10$), and one for ineffectiveness ($p<.01$). The negative self-esteem finding must be interpreted with reference to the interaction effect. The finding of a LD effect for ineffectiveness showed children with a learning disability (regardless of gender) reporting higher levels of ineffectiveness.

In addition to the NSE interaction effect, further univariate gender by LD interaction effects were found for interpersonal problems ($p<.10$) and negative mood ($p<.05$). On IP girls with LD reported more interpersonal problems than their non-LD peers, whereas boys with LD did not differ from boys without LD in reported interpersonal problems. The negative mood interaction effect was due to the girls with LD reporting more negative mood than the girls without LD, whereas no difference was found in boys' with and without LD reporting of negative mood.

Discussion

Do girls with LD report more depressive symptomatology than boys with LD?

Although girls with LD obtained a higher mean CDI score ($X=14.87$) than boys with LD ($X=10.2$), this difference was not significant. This result is consistent with other studies investigating whether children with LD have a greater propensity towards depression than children without LD (Hall & Haws, 1989; Maag & Behrens, 1989; Stevenson & Romney, 1984; Wright-Strawderman & Watson, 1992). These studies have generally found no significant gender differences in self-reported depressive symptomatology between girls with LD and boys with LD. However, many of these studies employed samples which were comprised of a small proportion of females with LD (Maag & Behrens, 1989; Stevenson & Romney, 1984; Wright-Strawderman & Watson, 1992). The present study which employed an equal number of boys and girls with LD found that, while there were no significant differences between girls' and boys' with LD risk for self-reported depressive symptomatology, a trend existed for girls with LD to report slightly more depressive symptomatology than their LD male peers.

Do girls with LD report more depressive symptomatology than non-LD girls?

The results of the analysis of variance indicate that girls with LD reported significantly more depressive symptomatology than girls without LD. With respect to the possibility that this difference is due to the presence of a learning disability, it must be noted that the analysis of variance revealed that boys with LD and non-LD boys reported equal rates of depressive symptomatology. These findings suggest that girls who possess a learning disability may be at a greater risk for depressive symptomatology than girls without a LD, while boys who have a learning disability do not appear to be at increased risk for depressive symptomatology. Based on these early results it might be inferred that depression in LD samples may be, in part, a function of gender. This result provides tentative evidence for the differential effect that a learning disability has on girls versus boys.

Are there response pattern differences due to gender on a self-report symptom oriented depression inventory?

The MANOVA examining the gender effect for the factor scores on the CDI was significant at the multivariate level, suggesting an overall response pattern difference that was due to gender. However, this multivariate finding may be somewhat misleading as a univariate follow up reveals that the gender differences in patterns of responses is solely due to a difference on the negative self-esteem factor. Furthermore, this univariate finding is complicated by the presence of a significant gender by LD/NLD interaction effect for negative self-esteem. Thus, the effect of a learning disability on the reporting of negative self-esteem was different for girls than boys. That is, girls' self-esteem was significantly more negative as a function of the presence of a learning disability than was the boys' self-esteem. This differentially negative effect of learning disability on girls self-esteem relative to boys is a serious concern. Why do girls seem to suffer more from the learning disability than the boys? One possibility is that feelings of competency in the academic domain are more important for girls. In studies of importance ratings of competence there is some suggestion that girls rate academic competence higher than do boys (Heath, 1994). In fact, using a self-report measure of depression, Boggiano and Barrett (1992) found that children who possessed an extrinsic motivational orientation, that is, children who perform schoolwork for approval or who depend on reinforcement, were more depressed than children with an internal motivational orientation. In addition, the authors found that girls had higher extrinsic motivational orientation scores and were also more likely to endorse items tapping low self-worth than were boys. Therefore, the findings of the present investigation suggests that girls with LD may experience depression as a result of poor self-esteem that arises from possessing a learning disability.

Are there response pattern differences due to the learning disability on a self-report symptom oriented depression inventory?

The MANOVA found a learning disability multivariate effect for the factors on the CDI, which a univariate follow up revealed was due to a difference on negative self-esteem and ineffectiveness. The negative self-esteem finding can only be understood with reference to the interaction effect discussed above. The ineffectiveness effect is not suprising in light of the emphasis of this factor on school performance (Kovacs, 1992). Therefore, it appears that children with LD report more negative school performance than children without LD, regardless of gender. The importance of this finding is the recognition that children with LD's overall score on this type of depression inventory will be inflated due to their accurate reporting of poor school performance.

Is there a differential effect of the learning disability on girls' s versus boys' response pattern on a self-report symptom oriented depression inventory?

This research question was addressed with the MANOVA gender by LD/NLD interaction effect testing. Despite the lack of an overall interaction effect for all factors, specific univariate interaction effects were uncovered that are highly interesting. The negative trend for the specific effects of a learning disability on girls in comparison with boys, as evidenced by the interaction effect for negative self-esteem discussed earlier, was further supported. The interaction effect for interpersonal problems and negative mood both indicated that girls have a gender specific vulnerability to learning disabilities in the area of interpersonal problems and negative mood. Thus, girls with LD, relative to girls without LD, report more interpersonal problems and more negative mood, whereas for boys, the presence or absence of a learning disability did not effect their reporting of symptoms of interpersonal problems or negative mood.

Conclusion

In summary, the present study found that although no significant differences emerged on the CDI between girls with LD and boys with LD, girls with LD were significantly more depressed than girls without LD. Boys with LD were not more depressed than their non-LD male peers. Finally, the patterns of responses on the factor scores of the CDI elaborated on this gender specific vulnerability to the effects of a learning disability, with girls reporting significantly more negative self-esteem, interpersonal problems and negative mood all as a function of the presence of a learning disability.

In conclusion, if the present study's findings are replicated, there are serious implications for research and clinical practice in the field of learning disabilities. Special intervention programs need to be designed to help address the special affective needs of girls with LD. This will be challenging since girls tend to receive fewer referrals for intervention programs than boys even when their deficits are more severe (Hassat & Gurian, 1984; Vogel, 1990). Furthermore, future investigations must examine researcher identified and school identified students with LD simultaneously to compare gender effects in both controlled and more ecologically valid samples.

References

American Psychiatric Association. (1994). Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders-Fourth Edition. Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Association.

Bender, W.N., & Wall, M.E. (1994). Social-emotional development of students with learning disabilities. *Learning Disabilities Quarterly, 17*(4), 323-342.

Blechman, E.A., Tinsley, B., Carella, E.T., McEnroe, M.J. (1985). Childhood competence and behavior problems. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 94*, 70-77.

Blechman, E.A., McEnroe, M.J., Carella, E.T., & Audette, D.P (1986). Childhood competence and depression. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 95*, 223-227.

Boggiano, A., & Barrett, M. (1992). Gender differences in depression in children as a function of motivational orientation. *Sex Roles, 26*(1-2), 11-17.

Brumback, R.A., Jackoway, M.K., Weinberg, W.A. (1980). Relationship of intelligence to childhood depression in children referred to an educational diagnostic center. *Perceptual and Motor Skills, 50*, 11-17.

Campbell, T.L., Byrne, B.M., Baron, P. (1992). Gender differences in the expression of depressive symptoms in early adolescents. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 12*(3), 326-338.

Cytryn, L., & McKnew, D.H. (1972). Proposed classification of childhood depression. *American Journal of Psychiatry, 129*, 149-155.

Glaser, K. (1968). Masked depression in children and adolescents. *Annual Progress in Child Psychiatry and Child Development, 1*, 345-355.

Hall, C.W., & Haws, D. (1989). Depressive symptomatology in learning disabled and nonlearning disabled students. *Psychology in the Schools, 26*, 359-364.

Hassat, I.D., & Gurian, A. (1984). The learning disabled girl: A profile. *Paper presented at the Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association.*

Heath, N.L. (1992a). *Domain-specific self-perceptions, achievement and depressive symptomatology in children with and without learning disabilities*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto.

Heath, N.L. (1992b). Learning disabilities and childhood depression: Theory and remediation. In S. Miezitis (Eds). *Creating alternatives to depression in our schools.* Toronto: Hogrefe & Huber Press.

Heath, N.L. (1993). Learning disabilities and depression. *Exceptionality Education Canada,2,3, & 4*, 59-74.

Heath, N.L. (1994). *Importance ratings of competence domains: Are they important?* Unpublished post-doctoral fellowship. School of Psychology, Ottawa University.

Heath, N.L. (in press). The Emotional Domain: Self-Concept and Depression in Children with Learning Disabilities. In M. Mastropieri and T. Scruggs (Eds). *Advances in Learning and Behavioral Disabilities.* Connecticut: JAI Press.

Kazdin, A. (1990). Childhood Depression. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 31*(1), 121-160.

Kovacs, M. (1983). *The Children's Depression Inventory: A self-rated depression scale for school aged youngsters.* Unpublished Manuscript. University of Pittsburgh School of Medicine, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Kovacs, M. (1992). *Children's Depression Inventory.* Toronto: Multi-Health Systems, Inc.

Lefkowitz, M.M., & Tesiny, E.P. (1985). Depression in children: Prevalence and correlates. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 53*,647-656.

Larson, B., & Melin, L. (1992). Prevalence and short-term stability of depressive symptoms in school children. *Acta Psychiatric Scandinavia, 85*, 17-22.

Leon, A.C., Kelrman, J.L., & Wickramaratne, P. (1993). The continuing female predominance in depressive illness. *American Journal of Public Health, 83*(5), 754-756.

Maag, J.W., & Reid, R. (1994). The phenomology of depression among students with and without learning disabilities. *Learning Disabilities Research and Practice, 9*(2), 91-103.

Maag, J.W & Forness, S.R. (1991). Depression in children and adolescents: Identification, assessment and treatment. *Focus on Exceptional Children, 24*(1), 1-19.

McGee, R., & Williams, S. (1988). A longitudinal study of depression in nine year old children. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 27*(3), 342-348.

Nolen-Hoeksema, S. (1987). Sex differences in unipolar depression: Evidence and theory. *Psychological Bulletin, 101*(2), 259-282.

Nolen-Hoeksema, S., & Girgus, J. (1994). Emergence of gender differences in depression during adolescence. *Psychological Bulletin, 115*(3), 424-443.

Nolen-Hoeksema, S., Girgus, J., & Seligman, M.E. (1991). Sex differences in depression and explanatory style in children. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 20*(2), 233-244.

Reynolds, W.M. (1986). A model for screening and identification of depressed children and adolescents in school settings. *Professional School Psychology, 1*, 117-129.

Rie, H.E. (1966). Depression in childhood. A survey of some pertinent contributions. *Journal of the Academy of Child Psychiatry, 5*, 635-685.

Rutter, M. (1986a). The developmental psychopathology of depression: Issues and perspectives. In M. Rutter, C.E. Izard, & P.E. Read. Read (Eds.), *Depression in young people* (pp.3-30). New York: Guilford Press.

Rutter, M. (1986b). Depressive feelings, cognitions, and disorders: A research postscript. In M. Rutter, C.E. Izard, & P.E. Read (Eds.), *Depression in young people* (pp. 421-521). New York: Guilford Press.

Sattler, J.M. (1988). Assessment in children.(3rd.ed.). San Diego: Jerome M. Sattler.

Stevens, J. (1996). Applied multivariate statistics for the social sciences. New Jersey : Lawrence Erlbaum.

Stevenson, D., & Romney, D. (1984). Depression in learning disabled children. *Journal of Learning Disabilities, 17*(10), 579-582.

Vogel, S. A. (1990). Gender differences in intelligence, language, visual-motor abilities, and academic achievement in students with learning disabilities: A review of the literature. *Journal of Learning Disabilities, 23*(1), 44-51.

Wright-Strawderman, C., & Watson, B.L. (1992). The prevalence of depressive symptoms in children with learning disabilities. *Journal of Learning Disabilities, 25*(40), 258-264.

Author Notes: Shoshana Ross c/o Dr. Nancy Heath, Department of Educational and Counselling Psychology, Faculty of Education, McGill University, 3700 McTavish, Montreal, Quebec, H3A 1Y2. Fax 1-514-398-6968; email "heath@education.mcgill.ca"

This paper was supported in part by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada as well as Quebec's Fonds pour la Formation de Chercheurs et l'Aide a la Recherche.

Hearing Diverse Voices: Subjectivity, Silence and Stereotype

Rebecca Luce-Kapler and Ingrid Johnston

In our research studies with secondary students--one a study of students' responses to reading multicultural literature and the other working with female writers--we realize the need to consider multiple "feminines" while working for the common goal of ending the silencing and marginalizing of students. In particular as white, middle-class feminists, we have to question whether our perspective of women's reality is true for all women. Too often, as theorists such as bell hooks (1994), Gayatri Spivak (1993) and Rita Felski (1989) point out, the feminist agenda has been set by white women and focuses exclusively on gender politics rather than including issues of race and class. Questioning this agenda, we believe, can take place within the scope of teaching writing and literature in school through the opportunities we create in our classrooms. In particular, we need to encourage young women to write about their individual experiences and to offer a broad selection of feminist and multicultural literature which reflects the multiplicity of identities in our classrooms.

Drawing from the data of our two studies, we will explore the pedagogical implications of addressing issues of subjectivity, silence, and stereotype with a more inclusive feminist view.

Subjectivity

In Adrienne Rich's poem, "Heroines," she pays tribute to the work and struggle of women in previous generations (1981). Rich effectively describes women's relationship to the symbolic order which, according to Jacques Lacan, is the system one is born into, and which overdetermines and positions one in the signifying chain (Grosz, 1990). A woman taking her place in this order is positioned as a passive object of men's desire, someone who is not a speaking subject .

> *You belong first to your father*
> *if married you are legally dead*
> *that your husband has the right of the slaveholder to hunt down and re-possess you*
> *Your mother wore corsets to choke her spirit which if you refuse you are jeered.* .

If she speaks at all, she does not speak for herself. And what she knows or really wishes to reveal is kept secret.

> *you have heard many sermons and have carried your own interpretations locked in your heart. . .*

A woman's only subjectivity, then, ambiguously signifies her position as a reflection of the masculine subject. To question this positioning, to speak from a female subjectivity, a woman finds herself outside the patriarchy.

When you open your mouth in public human excrement is flung at you
you are an outlaw

Women are either bound up in patriarchy or are banished to a place on the margins of the symbolic order. In both instances, they are isolated and disregarded. Speaking outside the sanctioning of the symbolic order, although important, does not do much more than create some hairline cracks in the symbolic where the semiotic might peek through (Kristeva, in Grosz, 150).

yet still you speak in the shattered language of a partial vision
registering injustice failing to make it whole

It is easy enough to note that this poem is set, after all, in the nineteenth century and women's positioning in society has changed. Now we are recognized as persons, at least legally, we are not considered possessions of fathers and husbands, and there are times when we can successfully speak out in public. But these seem like obvious changes, an opening of a pressure valve to let off the steam boiling through the symbolic order. How much room has really been made for women speaking as women? Rich suggests in her poem that the change has not been great enough. That too much is still the same.

how can I give you all your due take courage from your courage
honor your exact legacy as it is
recognizing as well that it is not enough (Rich, 33-36).

We need only listen to the news for a week to realize how minimally women have been "unleashed" to move within the symbolic, and evidence of misogyny is headlined daily. Language defines who we are and inscribes us into the patriarchy. The language into which we are born already has positioned us in society. At the same time, it is through language that we create a world in which we live. To see women as automatically excluded from a language that seems repressive and male is to ignore "both the flexible, innovative, and creative capacities of language itself and particular instances of richness and complexity of women's language use. . ." (Felski, 1989, 62).

And yet, that complexity, that desire to say what one is feeling, to describe oneself, is never quite achieved by language. Often this gap between what one feels and what one can actually express becomes evident when trying to write a poem or a journal entry. In a group of six adolescent girls who meet weekly to write and talk about their writing, Marie expresses her dissatisfaction with writing by referring to the main character in Alice Munro's story "Lives of Girls and Women:"

> I was sort of envious of the girl because she just sat down and wrote
> and whenever I want to write, I can't write it. . .

Roberta tells the group:

> Actually when I'm just writing by myself, I will just write my thoughts out and then like sometimes I'll go back and read them and think that's stupid and I'll scribble it out and rewrite it.

Jane expresses herself even more strongly:

> I feel tormented a lot of the time though. . . .Because I can't say what I mean and I can't get it out. And it always seems stupid to me.

They have questions about what they believe they can and can't say and this searching for words and the desire to speak the forbidden reflects the shifting (and fleeting) sense of identity they experience. And yet, it is through language--their speaking and writing of it--that identity is realized. As Bronwyn Davies points out,

> The various discourses in which one participates, or in terms of which one gains a voice or becomes a speaking subject, also are the means by which one is spoken into existence (even prior to one's birth) *as subject.* (Davies, 1992, 64)

Many contemporary young women are spoken into existence in a social environment where they are constituted as "Other." For young women of colour, issues of race add another layer of complexity to the question of subjectivity. Toni Morrison elaborates:

> My project is an effort to avert the critical gaze from the racial object to the racial subject; from the described and imagined to the describer and imaginers; from the serving to the served. (1992, 45)

She suggests that emphasis should be laid on the unique experiences, culture and perspectives of people of colour. This is not to suggest that curricula should be tailored to the particular cultural groups of young people, but rather that there should be a restoration of what history has ignored or overlooked. Noreen, a grade twelve student in a multi-ethnic high school, and a participant in our research study describes her experiences:

> I am Native and I have lived in Edmonton since I was two years old. I particularly like reading stories about lifestyles that we can relate to, stories that show how racist societies are. I know that's true because I experience it everyday of my life. For the rest of my family it's not so easy. They look more native--they are darker and they meet prejudice every day when they go out. People stare at them. I hear stories of how they're treated. My mom comes home in a bad mood because someone wouldn't talk to her or ignores her when she speaks . . . I'm trying to get back into my native culture; I've been reading about our own people. I try to give my people a good image. The stories that we read in class talk about people like me.

For students like Noreen, the imaginative experience of reading stories which resonate with their own lives, enables them to consider questions of identity in a safe space. However, even students who are offered opportunities to speak and to write about these identities in school may choose silence rather than risking exposure.

Silence

Sub rosa, a Latin term meaning "under the rose," refers to something done or said in strict confidence. Its roots lie in the story of Cupid who used a rose to bribe Harpocrates, the God of Silence, so he would not reveal the amours of Venus. Roses were later sculpted onto the ceilings of banquet rooms to remind guests that what was spoken under the influence of wine was not to be repeated (Evans, 1959). During the sixteenth century, roses appeared over confessionals and in the westerly rose windows of cathedrals, reminding the speaker and listener of secrecy.

But how private can *sub rosa* really be? We are entrusting another person with our privileged information and even though the vow has been taken or some solemnity observed, what guarantee is there that at some point the other person will not let a detail slip or use the knowledge for personal gain? Breaking confidence is a common occurrence if we think of examples from our own lives and the number of stories that depend on it as an important plot device. Rather than an ensured confidentiality, speaking *sub rosa* may only be a means to pry loose our secrets, a false security.

In some ways, writing in school is like revealing secrets under the rose. There are teachers who ask students to write about what they know, what they feel, and what they think. Students are told that they can make the decisions for their writing: which topic will be chosen, what will be disclosed, which peer comments will be disregarded or incorporated, and which draft will be the final one handed in. Students are cautious about what they reveal, however, because they know that ultimately, no matter what is said, they do not own their texts. The audience is predetermined by class lists, the fate of the writing is often decided by the teacher, and their words will be weighed and evaluated by others.

When the authority over the texts and over the revelation of private thoughts lies outside oneself, there is a strong sense of restraint in what is said and disclosed. What can be seen as opportunities to speak, may instead silence the speaker, and it is this silencing that is the other, darker side of *sub rosa*--the rose side.

There are many kinds of silence. Pamela Annas notes that there are "the voices inside you that tell you to be quiet, the voices outside you that drown you out or politely dismiss what you say or do not understand you, the silence inside you that avoids saying anything important even to yourself, internal and external forms of censorship" (1987, p. 4). In the girls' writing group, Marie tells us,

> Some of my poems I'm going to write about something that I feel or about this other person or whatever and someone's going to read it or I'm afraid someone else is going to read it. That's another reason why I don't write. I write in my mind like whenever I'm walking to school or whatever. You know like when you dream before you go to sleep? Well, I do that constantly and I make up what I'd like to happen. . . .One day I dreamt I was at this fish and chips restaurant and this robber came in and I beat him up and you know that would never happen but I just

> dream about that and then I fall asleep, but I would never write something like that.

There is hesitation in telling her story, a fear that it won't be accepted. Marie worries about the external censor and so censors herself first. It is not enough just for her to have the opportunity to write. Teachers need to encourage students to take risks with their writing, but this will happen only if students believe the classroom to be a safe place where all that they write need not be revealed.

Silence also may be the norm for many students of colour and immigrant students in a classroom where they fear to speak or where their voices are ignored or misunderstood. In a dialogic classroom, such fears can be overcome. bell hooks in her book *Teaching to Transgress* reminds us that in the context of a classroom:

> A distinction must be made between a shallow emphasis on coming to voice, which wrongly suggests there can be some democratization of voice wherein everyone's words will be given equal time and be seen as equally valuable, and the more complex recognition of the uniqueness of each voice and a willingness to create spaces in the classroom where all voices can be heard because all students are free to speak, knowing their presence will be recognized and valued . . . .Hearing each other's voices, individual thoughts, and sometimes associating these voices with personal experience makes us more acutely aware of each other. (1994, 186)

Coming to voice can be encouraged through teachers selecting feminist and multicultural literature which forms the basis of classroom discussions. Sarah, a first-generation Canadian, describes her own experiences in the classroom:

> My name is Sarah. I was born in Edmonton, but my parents are from China. It's good to read these stories from around the world, and we get to talk about the stories with our teacher and with each other. Last year, people were too shy to bring up concerns in class, so no-one brought them up. I know lots of people didn't agree with what others said because of the way they felt about the stories and about what happened to them, but they stayed quiet. This year, it's more helpful to talk about the stories with just a few people in a small group. It gives us a chance to talk about us.

Stereotype

When students are marginalized and silenced in classrooms, they are often victims of stereotyping and seen as representing a particular subject position. Gayatri Spivak, considering her own experience, explains

> The moment I have to think of the ways in which I will speak as an Indian, or as a feminist, the ways in which I will speak as a woman, what I am doing is trying to generalize myself, make myself a representative . . . . There are

> many subject positions which one must inhabit; one is not just one thing.
> (In During, 1993, 194-195)

When women write about their own experiences, their work has often been categorized as "confessional," as definitive of the "feminine" experience, and consequently of little literary value. As Mary Ann Cain points out,

> As for the writer, and most particularly the woman writer, she is even more vulnerable to her text of composing being appropriated, because she has been socialized, as women in the culture generally have been, to mistrust what she knows. . . . (1995, 20)

The voices of the women from an adult female writing group reflect some of these insecurities, not unlike the girls heard earlier.

> Alice: So Mary has a life of her own [Alice's story about Virgin Mary]; it's like I don't even control her. Her story feels like it wants to come pouring out and her voice is so strong. I'm sure I'll be burned. [Laughter and pause] I am getting a little touchy because the torchy sex scene is coming up.
And
> there's part of me that goes "bad girl, bad, bad, bad."
>
> Celina: In some ways we're all sort of victims of that. That voice is in all our heads. That only bad girls talk about sex and good girls don't.
>
> Larisa: I find it really hard to write about. You know. I start and my internal censor is shutting me down all the time.

Nevertheless, women continue to write, for it is through writing that the complex relations of our lives can be revealed. As Virginia Woolf suggests, "there is no more subversive act than the act of writing from a woman's experience of life using a woman's judgement" (In LeGuin, 1989, 177). Women find ways to articulate and come to understand their identity through language and writing.

Questions of identity include considering complex interactions between class, culture, religion, and other ideological frameworks. As Chandra Mohanty (1984) reminds us, "beyond sisterhood there is still racism, colonialism and imperialism" (348).
Teachers who work with young women from diverse cultural, racial and economic backgrounds can address issues of identity through reading and discussing multicultural literature in a community setting. Such opportunities, Maxine Greene (1993) suggests, can make us aware of "existential possibilities of multiple kinds." However, we still must guard against notions of fixity, of stereotypes linked to multiculturalism:

> We do not **know** the person in the front row of our classroom, or the one sharing the raft, or the one drinking next to us in the bar by her/his cultural or ethnic affiliation (16).

In a dialogic classroom, the reading of multicultural texts creates opportunities for students to engage in dialogue, learning to be open to one another and open to the world. Learning to look through multiple perspectives allows us to experience a range of human stories which help to build bridges. Kim, an immigrant student in high school describes her experiences in class:

> My name is Kim. My grandparents were from China but we lived in Vietnam and I moved from Vietnam 14 years ago when I was 6 years old. I couldn't speak any English when I came and everything was strange here, but now I can understand the culture more . . . . I like my English class better this year. I love the small group discussions where we can listen to others' points of view. I do enjoy the stories we read--they make me think and raise ideas in my mind. . . I find myself attracted to stories of clashes of cultures - I like that because there are lots of little little things besides "we just don't get along." Every time we read stories like that, they open up our mind a little bit more and more.

Ways of Knowing and Being

Where does the singing start?
Here, where you are, there's room
between your heartbeats,
as if everything you have ever been
begins, inside, to sing.
(Crozier, 1995, 3)

As women, we move through multiple positionings in every conversation, every word we write, every story we read. We see ourselves, Davies writes, "as continually constituted through multiple and contradictory discourses that one takes up as one's own in becoming a *speaking subject*" (57).

Homi Bhabha reminds us that what is theoretically innovative, and politically crucial, is the need to think beyond narratives of originary and initial subjectivities and to focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the "in-between" spaces of differences. Providing such sites of collaboration and contestation within classrooms allows young women to gain awareness of the complex subject positions of gender, race, class and culture which inhabit any claim to identity in the contemporary world.

References

Annas, P. (1987). Silences: Feminist language research and the teaching of writing. In C. L. Caywood & G. R. Overing (Eds.), *Teaching Writing: Pedagogy, Gender and Equity*. Albany: State of New York University Press.

Bhabha, H. (1994). *The location of culture*. New York: Routledge.

Cain, M. A. (1995). *Revisioning writers' talk: Gender and culture in acts of composing*. Albany: State of New York University Press.

Crozier, L. (1995). *Everything arrives at the light*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart.

Davies, B. (1992). Women's subjectivity and feminist stories. In C. Ellis and M.G. Flaherty (Eds.), *Investigating Subjectivity: Research on Lived Experience*. London: Sage Publications.

Evans, I. (Ed.) (1959). *Brewer's dictionary of phrase and fable.* New York: Harper & Row.

Felski, R. (1989). *Beyond feminist aesthetics.* MA: Harvard University Press.

Greene, M. (1993). The passions of pluralism: Multiculturalism and the expanding community. *Educational Researcher, 25,* (1)

Grosz, E. (1990). *Jacques Lacan: A feminist introduction.* London: Routledge.

Le Guin, U.K. (1989). *Dancing at the edge of the world.* New York: Harper & Row.

Mohanty, C.T. (1984). Under western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses. *Boundary 2, XII* (3) and *XIII* (1), 333-58.

Morrison, Toni. (1992). *Playing in the dark: Whiteness and the literary imagination.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

hooks, b. (1994). *Teaching to transgress.* New York: Routledge.

Rich, A. (1993). *A wild patience has taken me this far.* New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

Spivak, G.C. & Gunew, S. (1993). Questions of multiculturalism. In S. During (Ed.), *The Cultural Studies Reader.* New York: Routledge.

Rebecca Luce-Kapler and Ingrid Johnston
341 Education South, Faculty of Education
University of Alberta, Edmonton
T6G 2G5
Fax: (403) 492-9402
e-mail: rlucekap@gpu.srv.ualberta.ca
ijohnsto@gpu.srv.ualberta.ca

“Whom do we mean by *We* ?”
Norma E. Depledge

"What should we read, *how* should we read it, and *why* ?" Those questions, borrowed from a paper by postcolonial critic, Francis Mulhern (250), are at the heart of the politics of English studies. Innocent though they may seem at first glance, they are questions that carry a heavy ideological load because questions of what, how, and why we should read are inextricably entangled with the question “*Who* ?” That is, implicit in decisions about what, how and why we should read are assumptions, attitudes and beliefs about the composition of *we*. Who are *we* Canadians or *we* British Columbians, and how do our notions of *we* inscribe curricula?

This paper is drawn from a much longer study (Depledge, 1995) in which I examine the Language Arts English (Graduation) program in British Columbia. In that study, I look for the imaginary of the nation as it is manifest in policy, curriculum documents, and resources. The final segment of the study involves empirical research conducted in B.C. high schools. The objective of the empirical component was to observe how policy--and in particular, notions about “nationness” embedded in policy--are translated into practice. It is on the empirical component of that study that I concentrate in this paper. I argue, in agreement with Mulhern, that unexamined, unproblematized assumptions about "we" settle in advance "[i]ssues of selection, procedure, and purpose" (250).

My research is situated within a framework of postcolonial theory and implicated in feminist and anti-racism pedagogy. Very briefly: postcolonial critics have consistently connected English studies to a process of constructing the state. That is, they have argued that through helping to shape and disseminate a “nationalist pedagogy,” English studies participates in a project of nation-building.

“Nationalist pedagogy,” as the term is used by postcolonial critic, Homi Bhabha, is a discourse which represents “the idea of the nation as a continuous narrative of national progress,” (Bhabha, 1). "Nationalist pedagogy" encompasses the metanarratives, those particular narrations of the nation which authorize stories that consciously or unconsciously work toward a single voice and, in doing so, repress knowledge of difference.

“Nationalist pedagogy,” like any other ideological position, involves particular takes on race, ethnicity, gender and class. I will touch briefly on one of these components by way of explicating further what I mean by “nationalist pedagogy.” Multiculturalism is a shaping characteristic of “nationalist pedagogy” in Canada. It is a significant feature of the Canadian metanarrative of nation. Thus, despite the fact that "there is no national policy on multicultural education" (Moodley, 89), multiculturalism shapes curriculum in a variety of ways from province to province. As a result, one would expect to find multiculturalism/ plurality--as opposed to homogeneity--as a value embedded in Language Arts English curricula. And indeed, even a cursory glance at B.C. Language Arts English curricula and resources reveals that multiculturalism as a value has had an impact on policy and programming in British Columbia and continues, in the present, to have an even greater impact. However the metanarrative of multiculturalism can be, and indeed is, read in many (sometimes contradictory) ways.

Roger Simon argues, for example, that multiculturalism, as a federally instituted policy, participates in *creating* ethnicity, "a procedure that 'ethnifies' by defining who and what is Other and how such social groupings are to be charted on a social map" (35).

Similarly, Jon Young offers an analysis compatible with Simon's when he says:

> Each and every form of ethnic, linguistic, religious, racial and, indeed, national social identity in Canada has been fabricated into a certain *nationality* through maintaining the dominance of some social identity (a certain patriarchal Englishness) against and under which 'hospitable shield' all others were subordinated (11).

The salient feature of 'the Nation' that is revealed by the nationalist pedagogy of multiculturalism is, oddly, not its plurality but its 'binarity.' A notion of the 'One' (which is in some mysterious way not ethnic) is set against the 'Other' which embodies all difference from the 'One.' (See also, Gunew, 1992; Kamboureli, 1993). The effect on Language Arts English curricula is that, while 'ethnic' and 'minority' literatures occasionally make their way into the classroom, once there they often find themselves measured against the 'standard' of 'the Great Tradition,' reconfirming a binary logic, the "positive pole" of which is "a certain patriarchal Englishness."

In contrast to "nationalist pedagogy," the "nation as narration," a concept that informs Bhabha's vision of postcolonial theory (294), is an ambivalent, agonistic perspective. Resonating with arguments made by Benedict Anderson (1983/91), Sneja Gunew (1992, 1993), 19th century critic Ernest Renan (1990), among others, Bhabha characterizes the locality of national culture as neither unified nor unitary. Rather, the nation is, in his words, an "irredeemably plural modern space" (300). Moreover, Bhabha argues that the irredeemable plurality of the nation-space subverts nationalist pedagogy. It does so by exposing as illusion of the binary self/other dichotomy.

It is with the above ideas in mind that I have attempted to understand what part, if any, Language Arts English plays in reproducing cultural relations of power in which a narrowly defined "we" is privileged and protected. I have attempted to understand who is at the centre, who at the periphery of the concepts of "we Canadians" or "we British Columbians" as these notions play themselves out in Language Arts English policy and program documents, curricula, resources, and classrooms in B.C. At the same time, I searched for evidence, both textual and material, of counter-discourses, of efforts to destabilize a narrow definition of "we" or narrow views of nationness.

My study began with a historical review of curriculum and policy documents, in addition to an analysis of grade 11 and 12 curricula, and textual resources which have been prescribed, authorized, and recommended for use in grade 11 and 12 Language Arts English courses in B.C. over the last half century and more. I wish to underscore that what I found was not a unitary discourse. It was, rather, an increasingly complex and shifting discursive field. Its increasing complexity attests, I believe, to the subversive nature of the nation as narration. Over the past decade, counter-discourses have acted to destabilize unitary notions of "we Canadians," even within the state institution of education. Nevertheless, by winter 1995, I still found a startling degree of homogenization. In officially authorized and recommended resources alone, the virtual absence of texts written by Canadians of color, by First Nations Canadians, by gay or lesbian Canadians, by non-British or non-American ethnic groups, as well as the dearth of writing by women, and the dearth of fictional characters from marginalized groups were nothing if not startling when the numbers were tallied. The notion of Canada as an irredeemably plural modern space was not, as of the winter of 1995, widely reflected in the official Ministry of Education documents[1] or in implemented curricula in the classrooms I studied.

My research was conducted with teachers and students in a total of seven schools in three districts. Data was gathered from one hundred and three student questionnaires, and twenty-four audio-taped interviews, thirteen of which involved students and eleven, teachers. Based on that data, I examined the extent to which the values, attitudes, beliefs and assumptions embedded in policy and curriculum documents and officially approved resources were further qualified when they enter English classrooms, where teachers and students conform to, expand upon, or resist the ideology of English studies as it is officially envisioned.

I expected the increasingly plural and often contradictory notions of nation and subjectivity which exist in official documents to be multiplied when curriculum policy is translated into practice. That anticipation was to some degree borne out by my findings although, once again, I discovered more homogeneity than I expected. In part, that homogeneity reflected "common sense"[2] notions which see "the Great Tradition"[3] not as a construct based on particular and interested values, but as a self-evident continuity--a disinterested compilation of those works which are inherently great and which express "universal values" that purportedly transcend the particular. That view was summed up by a teacher I will call Richard, a senior teacher and department head. Richard stated that:

> [t]he sensibilities that are enunciated in the finest literatures...are ones which transcend sexual bias and are about universal suffrage, are about dignity for everybody.... [T]he literatures...which have withstood the test of time almost universally seem to be ones which are not gender biased one way or the other.

Such a vision of "fine literature" tends to en/gender courses which conform to traditional notions of English studies, in which "a certain patriarchal Englishness" as a value is unproblematized and, as a result, remains undisturbed.

A second assumption that led to support for the continued "Englishness" of English courses is one that is closely related to the first. It is expressed in terms of "common sense" notions about affirmative action. This assumption maintains that a selection process which privileges race, ethnicity, gender or class is ideologically driven, while one which privileges a category unproblematically understood as excellence (or literary merit) is not. Such an analysis assumes that excellence is a measure which is exclusive of factors other than some inherent superiority of a work, and that works which are meritorious transcend the self-interest of particular groups. According to this reasoning, to privilege gender, race, ethnicity or class would be to use ideologically charged, rather than ideologically innocent, criteria in the selection process. By extension, such a practice would undermine the aesthetic value of the canon by infiltrating it with inferior work. Good work would, according to this logic, automatically make its way into the canon, needing no advocate but its own excellence.

Not everyone who participated in the study concurred with views which characterize the canon as disinterested or self-evident. What was most striking about my findings, however, was that it was usually, though not exclusively, "border crossers"[4] who were conscious of, vocal about, and in some cases actively engaged in confronting the cultural politics of English studies.

Elaine, an experienced, senior teacher, whom I identified as a border crosser on the basis of gender, teaches English 12 and English Literature 12. Feedback from Elaine's students, as well as comments by Elaine herself, indicate that she engages the politics of English studies by including in her curricula a wider range of voices than students noted in most other courses. Her rationale is as follows: "I think that English is very much too heavily geared toward the study of British literature. I think that it has led to some rather unhealthy attitudes among students, especially the Shakespeare cultism that exists among our intellectual elite in this country."

Elaine expressed concern that those literatures which are not part of that mainstream do not necessarily have any representation in core courses. While she pointed out that her school offers a course called "Native Studies," in which students might see works by Native writers, she stated that the course is taken "almost exclusively [by] Native students." In contrast, she observed that in required courses, such as English or Communications, "as far as our course material [by native writers or about native experiences], it's pretty thin so far."

The existence of courses like the Native studies course mentioned by Elaine reveals that the homogenized notion of "we" that has shaped English curricula in B.C. is under pressure to change. However, it is my concern that compartmentalization of counter-discourses helps to sustain an epistemology which adheres to a centre versus margin model. Certain knowledges are characterized as curiosities or as special interest group knowledges which are, by implication, not important or true or disinterested or universal enough to be included in standard courses. The danger is that such courses prop up the notion that some knowledges are ideologically situated while others are not. They may actually protect the homogeneity of mainstream courses by *appearing* to redress their exclusions.

The following is a case in point. Ted, another department head who teaches both English 12 and English Literature 12, defended the traditional bias of English Literature 12, stating:

> I know it's white, Anglo-Saxon, male-dominated literature, but that's what it is. I mean, you can't rewrite history....If they [the Ministry of Education] want to make a world literature course then that's something entirely different. I don't see that there needs to be an apology for the content of a course.[5]

On the other hand, Ted is vocal about the exclusions and distortions of what he describes as "white, Anglo-Saxon, male-dominated literature." For example, he criticizes the "secondary or tertiary role[s]" that female characters in stories and novels taught in English classes in his school tend to fill. But his description of "the way we sort of address that issue" conceals his refusal to take his own criticism seriously. The solution adopted at his school has been the development of an option as one component of the English 11 course. That option is called "Women in Literature." Ted states that the teacher who offers that section "will attract one class." The course "takes a little sprinkling [of women's writing] from different ages--[some] highlights....It does make the point." Ted went on to say that the class may include "a couple, two or three [boys], but mostly girls." The fact that Ted sees this solution as a solution makes it possible for him, as department head, not to consider alternatives which might be far more radically destabilizing to the "white, Anglo-Saxon, male-dominated" curriculum. His solution, in fact, leaves the homogenized "we" at the centre of curriculum, unchallenged.

The comments of Bill, a Communications teacher, captured the contradictions inherent in the competition between the "we" of the canon and the Canadian metanarrative of multiculturalism. Bill complained that

> Canada's supposed to be a multicultural country...but in all the subjects, all we do is teach about European inventors, European scientists....Social studies teachers don't know of, for example, Cheng Ho, the Chinese explorer that did virtually the same thing as Vasco da Gama--before him!...Never heard of him throughout my whole school career.

But despite that criticism, Bill argued that "English is a little bit of a special case." He said "the language did come from England, [so] it's unavoidable, it's inevitable that the majority of good literature is written by people from England. That can't be helped and that's reality." He went on to say that "work that's not good shouldn't be legislated just because it's written by a Native Canadian." He said, "[i]f it's something that's good and of good quality, let's get it; but let's not get it just because it happens to be written by an Innuit.... [W]e're teaching English...so it has to be articulate."

The exclusivity of the "we" that I've been describing is glimpsed in the words of a teacher I'll call Jeff. Jeff argued that Canada is, "in some people's point of view, an English culture...." He worried that, "[there is] the whole issue around who really is an expert in African literature etcetera...[and] the whole argument around erosion of what has been...our culture and constantly giving away, and at what point does that end?"

Similarly, Richard expressed a defensiveness about the possibility of changes that would lead to a multicultural curriculum on the grounds that "the reality of Western Canadian experience is not a multicultural experience." After all, he said, he had "never, ever [been] in a position to speak French with anybody." Oddly, French seems to equal multicultural in Richard's analysis, but regardless of its centrality to the multicultural experience, it is still situated outside of the centre which is exclusively English.

Arguments such as those put forward by Ted, Jeff and Richard privilege a view of "our culture" and "our literary history," which seems to be based in large measure on a homogenized and exclusive view of an "us" which is at the centre and a variety of marginal groups who are not quite "us" on the margins. Concerns expressed by Jeff about the "erosion of...our culture and constantly giving away" imply a felt experience that "our" culture is threatened. An us/them dichotomy is an element of this picture of the nation.

I turn now to the students who participated in the study to compare picture of nation they see reflected in Language Arts English courses with that of their teachers. One of the questionnaire queries asked, "Do you see your own cultural heritage reflected in Communications or English or English Literature courses?" That question prompted many responses which sounded something like these:

> I am a white Canadian so I see a lot of my heritage.
>
> My cultural heritage is British so in the English Literature classes I do see it reflected since they are about England's people, places and events.

However, many responses sounded like these:

> I'm still waiting to read of English-East-Indian, Chinese, Native Canadians' work.
>
> Being a Chinese-Canadian, I see very little of my culture in the English courses.
>
> I never and probably will never see any of my Hebrew or Morocco in this country.
>
> Being Dutch-Canadian, the only course I remember taking with the slightest reflection of my heritage is Western Civilization.
>
> I am half Indian and some English teachers make racist comments.
>
> Chinese Filipino...I don't think so.
>
> Eastern European (Slovakian). No, I don't see it reflected.
>
> Not really. I'm East Indian in origin.
>
> I come from Taiwan, and I don't see any reflected.

Questions about the presence of French-Canadian or Quebecois literature elicited an almost unanimous "I can't remember any," or "Not at all," from students and teachers alike.

The effect of the exclusions is a phantasmatic legacy[6] for both teachers and students. While students repeatedly offered the standard description of Canada as "a very mixed society," "a multicultural country," "a land of many cultures," "a diversity of people," "a great mosaic...of different races and cultures," they also repeatedly said such things as "the literature that is on the course [English Literature 12], does a fairly good job of describing Canada's literary history." Such statements suggest that at least some students see no contradiction between the views that, on the one hand, Canada's population is diverse, and on the other, the literary history of that population is monolithic.

On the question of gender bias, one again sees some curious contradictions. Young women were very vocal about gender bias. Three examples follow. In response to a question about what literature they would choose if they had the power to do the choosing, young women wrote:

> I would appreciate that many more woman poets and authors were included in our material. It's time to update!
>
> More female authors, contemporary female authors. I assume that women do play some part in a Canadian identity.

Another young woman, Leah, complained "there's one woman in the entire English lit. textbook."[7]

In contrast, male students whom I interviewed did not see a gender bias in courses. For example, a male student who was in the same class as Leah and, therefore, studying the same material, stated that "this year we've read a pretty good blend...I don't think there's a bias" (Paul).

A parallel contradiction can be seen around race and ethnicity. Inder, an English 12 student who is a Canadian of color, was much more vocal about the need to change curricula by opening up a space for a wider variety of voices to be heard. He talked extensively about questions of voice and silencing. "I think we must bring in other poets, other people that will bring kind of like a comparison," he said. "[I]m sure in some of the Native poetry and Native novels you'll find evidence of oppression, and...in the African-American...you know it's everywhere, and...we only discuss the European aspect of it."

In contrast, Paul argued against change in curricula because "if they tried so hard to have one of every culture in the course, like a Hindi Canadian and a... it could get really diverse and you might be compromising the literature...you'd be choosing things on the basis of ethnicity and not on the basis of their literary merit." While Paul identified himself as half English, half Russian Jewish, he stressed that half of his cultural identity is strongly represented. Moreover, as a gifted student, he is among the elite of the student population, and therefore, it can be assumed, he is very well served in many ways. While he is articulate and perceptive in his criticism, as an individual who is not directly excluded, he is prepared to defend the status quo.

Communications students expressed their exclusion in class terms more frequently than they expressed it in terms of ethnicity or race. Marnie, the only Communications student who was willing to be interviewed, echoed Bourdieu's analyses of *cultural capital* and *cultural habitus* and the costs to the child who comes to school with the wrong version.[8] "I didn't fit," she said. "I don't know why." She characterized the *not fitting* in terms of being unable to grasp the material in courses. "I really had problems," she said. "I mean I was getting Ds and Es and failing." Marnie had to seek solutions outside of the classroom where she found places that she fit.

The dissatisfactions of other Communications students also seemed to express disjunctions between their cultural values and those of the classroom: "I would prefer some topics of relevant issues, such as teenage pregnancy, relationship relating to teens with each other, family, authority figures, Aids, etc," a Communications 12 student wrote. A Communications 11 student wrote, "I like Stephen King books and don't like reading other stuff that sucks." The "we" that shapes curricula does not reflect these students. For Marnie, the effect was discouragement. Like other Communications students she described to me, what her discouragement caused her to reject, for a number of years, was herself.

I would like to close by relating an anecdote--an experience and discussion I had with a woman I will call Mary. Mary is director of a Native Education centre on Vancouver Island. She is a white woman, married to a Native Canadian man. She has lived in a Native community for twenty-six years, has children and grandchildren. Mary is a "border crosser."

I spent a day at the Education centre in Mary's office, the door of which opened onto the kindergarten where Mary's daughter, a young woman in her early twenties, taught seven children. The door of the office was open during most of my visit, providing me with the opportunity to observe and eaves-drop. At one point, the young woman, I will call her Ruth, was talking to the children about different ways that animals move. She pointed to a picture of a frog and asked, "What do frogs do?" From my vantage point, I was unable to see the students, but I could clearly hear what went on in the room. The children made no audible response. Ruth then said that frogs hop and asked the children if any of them would like to hop like a frog. Since I have occasionally observed white, middle-class kindergartens, my eyebrows shot up at the prospect of the bedlam I feared was immanent. But none ensued. Ruth asked, "Should I hop like a frog?" Apparently the children indicated that she should, because she did. After that, she said, "Maybe some of you will want to try hopping like a frog when we go outside to play or after school."

I talked to Mary about that incident. She said, "As a white person, everything you do is foreign to these children--the way you move your mouth so fast when you speak, the way you stand, the way you instruct as opposed to demonstrate, the way you push yourself forward. The Indian way," she said, "is that until you are absolutely confident that you can do it right, you do not cut into a fish. The white person's way is: if at first you don't succeed, try, try again. These two ways of being are in direct opposition to each other."

Mary described years of watching little kids, bright eyed and eager, ready to begin school, and a few years later--little people with heads hung low, bereft of confidence. She said, "we decided we had to do something. We had to give them some of the survival tools they need to cope in a white school system." Ruth is trying to teach the children in her kindergarten to push themselves forward, because not to do so is often interpreted in white schools as failure--failure to comprehend, failure of initiative, failure of intellect, failure to try, just plain failure. Mary sees some success in the kinds of initiative she and her daughter and others are taking at the Education centre. The initiatives are having a positive impact--but that does not make this an entirely happy story.

Mary related another incident to me about a Native girl whom I will call Loretta. Loretta entered an essay in a competition sponsored by a number of different bands. The prize was a trip to Disneyland. Needless to say, there was a sea of entries. The competition was judged by elders and chiefs.

It is significant that the competition was judged by elders and chiefs. A poster tacked to the wall in the Education centre reads: In the knowledge of my People, the Elders and the children are as one in the Circle of Life. The Elders are the holders of knowledge, the Teachers of our culture, songs, heritage and survival. The children, our future, represent the carriers of this knowledge that never grows old. (Tradition and Education)

The elders and chiefs--"the holders of knowledge, the Teachers of [her] culture"--selected Loretta's entry as the winner. As Mary put it, the most respected adults among Loretta's own people declared that Loretta was a fine, even a gifted writer. According to their judgment, she expressed herself in ways that were powerful and effective. But unfortunately, this is not an entirely happy story either. Loretta goes to the local white high school. In English, she gets Cs and Ds. "She may have been recognized by her own people as a writer," said Mary, "but at the school, she's dog do-do." What the school system's evaluation of Loretta's ability implies about the ability of her elders to judge is certainly not lost on Mary. I doubt that it is lost on Loretta either.

The elders of the band, faced with the reality of the terrible costs to their children of entering a white school system without a white, middle-class *cultural habitus*, have developed strategies to inculcate in their children that *cultural habitus*. But they, and Loretta, the children in the kindergarten, Mary and her daughter Ruth, all are caught in a trap. If a white, middle-class *cultural habitus* were to be merely one among many that the children in Ruth's kindergarten class, and Loretta, and indeed all British Columbian children would be introduced to in schools, the experience of learning about it would surely be an educationally enhancing one. But since it will be the norm against which other cultural habitus and values, including their own, are measured--and invariably found wanting--I am convinced that Loretta, the children in the kindergarten and a lot of other Canadian children are still in for a rough ride.

I return to the place where I began, to Francis Mulhern's question, "What should we read, how should we read it, and why?" I remain convinced that unexamined, unproblematized assumptions about the "we" settle in advance "[i]ssues of selection, procedure, and purpose" (Mulhern, 250). I find heartening the fact that official documents record a variety of sometimes contradictory notions of nation, among them a commitment to a more plural vision of nationness. Yet I am persuaded that a narrowly defined "we" continues to enjoy considerable privilege and protection in Language Arts English courses.

Where Language Arts English fails to interrogate its own cultural politics, it participates in a process that buttresses the power of a dominant centre. It does so by adding the force of its own authority to those power relations that naturalize the right of particular groups, defined by race, class, ethnicity and gender, to disseminate their own ideology, misrecognized as universal or transcendent value.[9] While I think it is a gross overestimation of the power of Language Arts English to suggest that it is responsible for or has the ability to single-handedly change a system which privileges certain groups and oppresses others, it is undeniably one of a complex of factors which imbricate race, ethnicity, gender, and class in a pattern of cultural politics. As such, when it asks "What should we read, how should we read it, and why," it had best begin to ask, first and foremost, whom do we mean by "we"?

---

[1] The homogenized notion of "we Canadians" reflected in B.C. curricula up to the present is undergoing substantial change. In late March, 1996, the new Learning Resource list, included in the *English Language Arts 11 and 12 Integrated Resource Package* (IRP), published by the British Columbia Ministry of Education, Skills and Training, was made available to B.C. schools. Out of 249 listings of print materials, audio-cassettes, films, videos, software, and other media on the new list, about 27 books include either a direct reference or something that might be interpreted as a reference to cultural diversity, gender sensitivity, or a character or individual who has a disability. They appear to mirror a shift toward a much more inclusive vision of nation than did the previous resource list.

[2] I use the term "common sense" in the poststructuralist sense as it is defined by Chris Weedon in *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory* (77).

[3] F.R. Leavis, perhaps the father of The Great Tradition, maintained that there was an "essential structure" inherent in "the English tradition," and that the structure would reveal itself to the disinterested critic. He insisted that the critics job was "to endeavor to be as little merely individual as possible" (1959, 2), in a word, to transcend his individuality and, thus, to transcend ideology and interestedness.

[4] I use the term border crossers to refer to those individuals who in one way or another inhabit the border zones of nation and who therefore, daily, negotiate more than one cultural space. I borrow the term from Henry Giroux who calls for "opportunities for students to be border crossers in order to understand otherness on its own terms" (1991, x), but I use the term in a slightly different way. It's my contention that individuals who *live* in two cultures have a different experience of border crossing from that of individuals who merely *visit* other cultures. The former group has no alternative but to negotiate more than one cultural space. Moreover, and most importantly, their experience of self is differently constructed within different cultural contexts. While it is quite possible for visitors (both literal and literary) to understand otherness in their own terms, for the individual who lives on both sides of a border, "her own terms" can never entirely escape the self-referential difference of an/other culture.

I have included gender as an element that shapes particular cultural spaces and therefore contributes to the formation of borders. In that context, I see some women as border crossers, despite their location in mainstream situations *vis-a-vis* class and race.

[5] Literature 12 has also been undergoing massive revision in British Columbia. The finalized version is scheduled to be available this year.

[6] I use the term phantasmatic in the sense in which it is used by Homi Bhabha in his essay "DissemiNation: time, narrative, and the margins of the modern nation." He connects it to the psychoanalytic idea of splitting--two things happening at the same time that are often in contradiction.

[7] In fact, there are twelve women authors represented in what has been the most widely used edition of the English Literature 12 textbook, *Adventures in English Literature*, Heritage Edition Revised, 1980, 1985. In total, out of 1024 pages, the text contains 37 pages of text written by women. Literature 12, though, as mentioned elsewhere is under revision.

[8] See: Bourdieu, Pierre, and Jean-Clause Passeron. (1977) *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. Trans. Richard Nice. London: Sage.

[9] Again my analysis is shaped by the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron in *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, 8-12.

Works Cited

Anderson, Benedict. (1991). *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso.

Bhabha, Homi K. (1990). DissemiNation: time, narrative, and the margins of the modern nation. In Homi K Bhabha (Ed.). *Nation and Narration*. London: Routledge.

---. (1990). Introduction: narrating the nation. In Homi K Bhabha (Ed.). *Nation and Narration*. London: Routledge.

Depledge, Norma E. (1995). *'What should we read, How should we read it, and Why?': The Cultural Politics of English Studies in British Columbia's Language Arts English (Graduation) Program.* Unpublished thesis.

Leavis, F.R. (1959). *Revaluation: Tradition and Development in English Poetry*. London: Chatto and Windus.

Gunew, Sneja. (1992). PMT (Post modernist tensions): Reading for (mulit)cultural difference. In Sneja Gunew and Kateryna O. Longley (Eds.), *Striking Chords: Multicultural literary interpretations.* Sydney: Allen & Unvin.

---. (1993). Feminism and the politics of irreducible differences: Multiculturalism /ethnicity/race. In Sneja Gunew and Anna Yeatman (Eds.), *Feminism and the Politics of Difference*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Kamboureli, Smaro. (1993). Of black angels and melancholy lovers. Ethnicity and writing in Canada. In Sneja Gunew and Anna Yeatman (Eds.), *Feminism and the Politics of Difference*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Moodley, Kogila. (1992). Ethnicity, Power, Politics and Minority Education. In Kogila Moodley (Ed.), *Beyond Multicultural Education: International Perspectives*. Calgary: Detselig.

Mulhern, Francis. (1990). English Reading. In Homi K Bhabha (Ed.), *Nation and Narration*. London: Routledge.

Province of British Columbia. Ministry of Education, Skills and Training. (1996). *English Language Arts 11 and 12: Integrated Resource Package*.

Renan, Ernest. (1990). Trans. Martin Thom. What is a nation? In Homi K. Bhabha (Ed.), *Nation and Narration*. London: Routledge.

Simon, Roger. ((1987). Being Ethnic/Doing Ethnicity: A Response to Corrigan. In Jon Young (Ed.), *Breaking the Mosaic: Ethnic Identities in Canadian Schooling*. Toronto: Garamond.

Weedon, Chris. (1987). *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Young, Jon. (1987). Introduction. In Jon Young (Ed.), *Breaking the Mosaic: Ethnic Identities in Canadian Schooling*. Toronto: Garamond.

Norma E. Depledge. Department of Communication and Social Foundations. Faculty of Education. University of Victoria. P.O. Box 3010. Victoria, B.C. V8W 3N4. Phone: (604) 721-7819, E-mail: depledge@uvic.ca

Pedagogy and Love :
Re - Imagining an Earth - Inclusive Education

This paper will examine some traditional and current concepts of the relationship between love and pedagogy in an effort to re-imagine an education that is inclusive, not only in the sense of who is educated or how educational decisions are made, but what should be the essential purpose, nature and content of an education for this critical time in earth's history. It will argue that such an education must be above all, earth-inclusive, and that knowing the story of the earth in the universe and owning and teaching that story in our lives is our fundamental task as earthlings. To re-imagine this story in our time -- a story told by every traditional culture -- is to begin to redefine the very nature of those human activities we call love and pedagogy, envisaging a new unity between them, and in the educational process itself.

There was once a dinner party at a writer's house to celebrate the success of his first major work, which had just received a prize as best drama of the year. The host, who had already been celebrating with his cast, sent out hurried invitations the next day to his closest friends and colleagues, but wasn't able to find them all. And so, as the word got around about who would be there, a good party at a good man's house, people started dropping in during the dinner, not wanting to miss the festivities, but especially the stimulating conversation.

As it turned out, the party included: the writer and his partner, some literary and creative types, some who had been buddies in the army, a well-liked man of deep philosophic vision, and a doctor. Most of these friends had gotten together before to engage in some serious drinking and discussion, but it was notable whom they had excluded from their group: a certain rich and proud businessman; a professional educator, a professor of literature who fancied himself a writer; and women in general. Even the girl who had been hired to play flute music after dinner was sent to entertain the women servants instead.

Usually, after dinner, the men challenged each other to rounds of drinks, storytelling, or songs. This time, however, no one objected to the doctor's advice to let each man drink only as much as he wanted -- since most of them already had hang-overs. The doctor's second proposal was that the rounds of speeches should have a single, neglected, topic: the praise of the power of love -- the idea being to compete to see who could speak most eloquently. What followed was an evening in celebration of the power of love, as understood by each man present.

You may recognize from this description, Plato's dialogue known as *The Symposium*, in which his purpose seems to be both to praise Socrates as a model human and to reveal wisdom. It is recognized as one of Plato's major dialogues, addressing the first principles of the good life, and would be elaborated on in other works. Socrates, the man of philosophic vision, is even made to say that love is the only subject he understands. His speech is a paean to beauty and to creativity of all kinds, affirming that only through love can any goodness can be brought forth and nurtured in this world.

You might ask, why select this dialogue to discuss at a gathering focussing on the topic of inclusive education? This paper proposes to examine Plato's presentation of love, and then to re-imagine his symposium in contemporary terms, especially as it might apply to this gathering. Socrates, of course, remains to this day an archetype not only of the philosopher, and of the true pedagogue, but of the lover. It is worth remembering, when asking what is the relationship between love and pedagogy, what Socrates' personal end was -- what kind of love motivated his self-sacrifice through hemlock, and who in society forced him to make this ultimate choice, condemning him for misleading and corrupting the youth of Athens? In posing some of these questions, I hope to present a picture of what might be called an "earth-inclusive education".

It is clear enough that Plato was a reflection of his times in whom he represented and did not represent at the banquet table. The role of women in ancient Greece is well known, as is the acceptance of homosexual love, including at this dinner party. Plato also seems later to have had an aversion to the physical aspects of love of any kind -- helpful in understanding his notion of love. But note that he also excludes from his dialogue on the good life : the businessman, so full of questionable material accomplishments (along with a condemnation of artists and thinkers as unproductive); and the professional educator, (the sophist), who, far from dedication to truth and virtue, is known for peddling a narrowly-defined "success in life" path to his students.

Of course, the elitism of Plato's party is obvious. Nowhere is there mention of minorities -- visible or otherwise -- nor of the disabled, nor of aboriginals, male or female. While all of these groups existed in Plato's time, they were outside the gates of the Athenian city while this particular party was going on. His definition of love, however, seems to take some steps towards opening up the dialogue to excluded groups, particulary women, in the figure of the priestess Diotima.

Phaedrus, the first speaker, declares: "The principle which ought to guide the whole life of those who intend to live nobly cannot be implanted by family or by position or by wealth or by anything so effectively as by love" (*Symposium*, 42). He goes on to quote Hesiod, describing the evolution, from Chaos, of "broad-breasted Earth, on whose foundation firm Creation stands, and Love". The antiquity of Love (Eros) is thus established, but is notably predated by Earth (Gaia), the foundation of Creation as understood by the Greeks.

The doctor (Eriyximachus) describes love as a unifying force which "makes it possible for us to live in harmony with our fellow creatures and with the gods" (57), expressing , perhaps, an idea of holistic health, relating the health of the individual to the health of the community. Aristophanes, the great comic dramatist, then presents his theory of humans as wounded and divided beings, seeking their completion and healing in a mate. The innate love which humans feel for one another is for him "simply the name for the desire and pursuit of the whole" (64), not only the union of male and female, but the reintegration of the self. We read his parable today in the Jungian terms of animus and anima, and interpret his description of the notably extinct hermaphrodite as an image of the unified self. Agathon, the host, contributes the notion that love is simply the pursuit of beauty.

All of these speeches, of course, serve to complement Socrates' statement on love, which, with typical Platonic irony, is a dialogue within a dialogue, the fictional priestess Diotima, a "woman from Mantinea", being Socrates' supposed teacher in the art of love. The description of love put in the words of this wise woman, credited with teaching Socrates the only subject that he says he understood, leads to the conclusion that "love is desire for the perpetual possession of the good" (87). The orders of love transcend any physical or emotional attachment to beauty, rising to the intellectual and spiritual contemplation of the good. The ultimately ineffable vision of absolute beauty and goodness unified is described in mystical terms as a kind of immortality. The vision is that of a lover, but a lover not of individual examples of beauty, but one "gazing upon the vast ocean of beauty... bringing forth in the abundance of his love of wisdom many beautiful and magnificent sentiments and ideas" culminating in a love not of "a living thing or the earth or the sky or anything else... but an absolute... unique, eternal, and all other beautiful things as partaking of it " (93).

Thus, Plato's *Symposium*, permeated as it is with the trappings of patriarchy, contains at its heart a vision of wisdom and love not only attributed to a woman, but one traceable, perhaps, to a pre-Hellenic, goddess-based world-view, one which honours both the ineffable and the natural world. For Diotima's wisdom and power come from Gaia (Earth) herself, the original image of deity, and mother of all deities in the Greek tradition, including her son, Eros (Love). Gaia was addressed by the priestess at Delphi with the salutation: "Before all other gods, I call on Earth, primeval prophetess" (Spretnak, 46).

Plato also has Socrates, in his last speech, from the *Phaedo*, give a description of "the nature of the earth as a whole and of the things that are upon it": a description of the "real earth, viewed from above... a sight for the eyes of the blessed" (*Phaedo*, 145) -- reminiscent of nothing so much as the photographs of earth seen from space, images which finally allowed us to achieve a collective global perspective on the planet. Quite ironically, this new technological vision has allowed us to begin to fall in love, once again, with the earth, neglected and debased for so long in Western tradition. It is this vision that Socrates laid down his life for, out of love for both the planet, seen with cosmic eyes, and for people -- to teach us, by example, this essential wisdom. It has taken us a very long time to appreciate the legacy. Certainly, those who forced him to make the choice between banishment and hemlock, the powerful and politically-connected men of Athens, found his vision to be a threat to controlling the minds and hearts of the young -- as do their representatives among us today.

It takes some effort for us, in these politically correct times, to re-imagine Plato's symposium as a gathering to discuss something like "inclusive education" and its relation to the good life. Our tendency is to think that we must have at the table individuals representing each and every one of the groups included in educational decision-making and practice. Following the model of Ontario's School Councils, this would mean a predetermined weighting of parents as educators, representatives of the local community, teachers, students and administrators. Representing Canada's Charter groups would mean having places reserved for women and girls, a variety of minorities, the disabled, and aboriginal people. Nor could the decision makers in the political realm, both governmental and non-governmental, the academic community and the business community, not be given places. But who would be the Agathon to host such a gathering, propose the agenda, and oversee its completion? Try then to imagine this symposium as an international gathering, and you rapidly begin to see something like the so-called Earth Summit held in Rio in 1992, where, as expected, the existing political agenda prevailed, despite the refinement of an Earth Charter and important dialogues in the tents outside the walls belonging to various non-governmental organizations concerned about the health of the planet. Significant among these were the women's groups and aboriginals.

As the millennium approaches, a multiplicity of world dialogues is scheduled - notably in San Francisco in 1998, where, as Robert Muller has described, various World Commissions of the United Nations will convene: the Commission on Education for the 21st Century, and new World Commissions on Media, on Marketing and Advertising, and on Spirituality (Muller, 1995). It is obvious that critical thinking in all these areas is essential when we consider who the "prime educators" of our time really are - those who control the media. We all know that we are in the grip of the "manufactured consent"(Chomsky's term) of forces which have already had us choose consumerism, with so-called "sustainable development" as the dominant world religion. And along with consumerism, systemic attitudes towards women and minorities are reinforced in the media and in marketing, while others are marginalized by exclusion. At the same time, today people are seeking a spiritual basis to life on an unprecedented scale. It is worth observing that Dr. Muller is proposing a completion of the Earth Charter and the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man with a new "Universal Declaration of Ethics and Responsibilities". Such a declaration would inevitably include statements on the ongoing realities of biocide and geocide, and their implications for everyone, especially educators. Wouldn't it be wonderful if these world commissions all practiced inclusive education in their gatherings -- so that the Pope and the Dalai Lama, for example, really listened to the voices of women of all cultures in their deliberations on spirituality?

It might be argued that, just as Plato's gathering was exclusive, but produced, through the persona of Socrates, an inclusive vision of wisdom, it matters less whether certain groups are at the table, than that the vision of those present includes the essential voices. Indeed, it is not difficult to imagine a gathering of all of the groups involved in education -- Charter and otherwise -- where the focus on special interests remains divisive and unproductive because of a lack of an all-embracing vision, or any agreement on first principles. On the other hand, it is hard not to imagine a meaningful dialogue when women, aboriginals, the disabled and minorities share their deepest insights, not only as the marginalized, but as the specially privileged -- because their experience gives them unique perspectives on the dominant culture and its misguidedness. The dominant culture continues to demonstrate through its actions that it is unable even to hear the anguish of the earth and its creatures at this critical time.

It is tempting to try to imagine a utopian gathering of individuals, open to examining not only policies and practices, but the first principles of what might be called an "earth-inclusive education" -- one aimed not just at individual or national succcess in the next century, but at the survival and health of the earth as a single community of interdependent beings, both living and non-living. Such a vision might have emerged even in *The Symposium*, if Plato had had the courage to make his Diotima a flesh and blood woman, actually present at the banquet. Perhaps his sublime vision might have been less other-wordly, more wedded to the "real earth", experienced from below rather than seen from above, and closer to the acceptance of the natural world typical of earth-based goddess cultures.

A contemporary Plato by the name of Thomas Berry has offered a critique of the four "relentless, patriarchal establishments"(Berry and Clarke, 104): the ancient empires, the ecclesiastical establishment, the nation state and the modern corporation, which, while promising us a wonderworld, have delivered us a wasteworld. Berry's perspective is a unique blend of Christian, Eastern and aboriginal traditions, animated by science, the new cosmology, ecology and feminism.

Berry descibes love as "a word that points to the alluring activity in the cosmos" (Swimme, 49). It is the enrapturing story of the universe that contains the power needed for the transformation of both individuals and of the earth. This new, scientifically-based story of a fifteen-billion-year-old, still-evolving universe can help us to "organize ourselves, for the first time, on the level of species ... no matter what racial, religious, cultural or national background" (161). Contemplating the death of species and of the planet, far from disabling us, brings us the energy we need to re-invent ourselves. Thus, the period we live in is one of enormous promise: "The scientific-technological, Christian, masculine, individualistic, Northern European spirit joins with the ecological, animistic, feminine, communal native spiritualities in the creation of a new form of society"(159).

What are the implications for education? Quite simply, "a new unity to the educational process from its earliest beginnings through the highest level of training" (Swimme and Berry, 5) in which the humanities and sciences and other modes of learning become inclusive of each other, transcended by the scope and importance of knowing and living this story -- which is in essence a love story. Education becomes defined as "knowing the story of the universe, how it began, how it came to be as it is, and the human role in the story. There is nothing else...The universe story is the divine story, the human story, the story of the trees, the story of the rivers, of the stars, the planets. everything... as simple as a kindergarten tale, yet as complex as all cosmology and all knowledge and all history" (Berry and Clarke, 101).

Berry's vision of the sacredness of the earth community is in many ways a fulfillment of Plato's. It includes, however, a recognition that we have all participated in the profaning of this sacredness, even justifying it through readings of *Genesis* which describe man as master or steward of creation. We are now beginning to see the human species as part of the earth community. We now understand how the earth itself came into being only as a part of the community of the cosmos. What, then, is our pedagogical task, as educators gifted with this knowledge?

Surely, part of this pedagogy must involve selecting texts and resources that will help students to come to an awareness of themselves as participants in a sacred universe, to help them share in the wonders of discovering this creation, and to truly believe "that each individual person has the power of participating in the transformation of the whole Earth" (Swimme, 81). Far from utopian, this belief is necessary to allow individuals to find a creative dream, a vision, which will "drive the action" (Berry and Clarke, 94) in their lives. Beyond content or philosophy, the practice of this pedagogy must involve independent thinking, analytic and intuitive, and collaborative learning, engaged in the context of the community, local and global. This pedagogy, while integrating subject areas, should also help students to integrate their learning with the world at large, accepting diversity of all kinds, developing tolerance for all but injustices, and emphasizing the redress of these.

Above all, this pedagogy must be nurturing , a "primary role for all things in relationship to one another"(Berry and Clarke, 105). As Berry says, "Nurturing and being nurtured in a communion of subjects, not...exploiting and being exploited in a collection of objects" must become the basic symbol of the future. This quality of nurturing , while one which all humans share, is ontologically identified with the feminine. Thus, the hope for the future "rests extensively on the new vigor, assertion and acceptance of women", and the future may well be "guided extensively by the archetype of woman." The pedagogue, then must create a nurturing environment, and also be open to taking on new roles as collaborator -- not always as the high-status transmitter of learning, but as partner and learner herself, instead of dominator -- indeed, as one who can be nurtured by her students!

If education can be defined as fully developing one's nature, at its heart there must always be a vision of that nature. Such a vision, echoing Plato, was recently shared by Thomas Berry at a conference in Toronto. It comes from Wang Yang-ming, writing in the Confucian tradition in the fifteenth century: "Everything, from ruler, minister, husband, wife, friend, to mountains, rivers, heavenly and earthly spirits, to birds, animals and plants -- all should be truly loved in order to truly realize my humanity -- it forms a unity, and my pure character will be completely manifest, and I will really form One Body, with Heaven, Earth, and the Myriad Things" (Berry, 1995).

Since the goal is to achieve such a mutually-enhancing human-earth relationship" -- not just a mutually-sustaining one -- an earth-inclusive pedagogy must reflect this basic principle of relationships. This includes attention in a holistic curriculum to the many inter-relationships within the self -- the body, mind, emotions and spirit, and to the interconnectedness of all individuals in the global community. It also includes, echoing Plato, a recognition that the only truly enhancing relationship is one motivated by love -- of both humans and the earth. Whether this love is seen as the Confucian *jen*, the Hindu *bhakti*, the Buddhist *karuna*, or the Greek *eros* , it is the same universal principle. With an "earth-inclusive" education inspired by such a love, we can begin to construct and practice a truly global, universal and spiritual curriculum which will inspire our students to have hope and confidence in their lives, not only in the future, but in the now.

References

Berry. T. (1995), quoting Wang Yang-ming in 'The Universe Story': keynote address, Planetary Relationships Conference. Toronto: October 20, 1995.

Berry, T. (1988). *The Dream of the Earth* . San Francisco: Sierra Club Books.

Berry, T. and Clarke, T. (1991).*Befriending the Earth*: A Theology of Reconciliation Between Humans and the Earth. Mystic: Twenty-third Publications.

McLuhan, T. C. (1994). *The Way of the Earth*: Encounters with Nature in Ancient and Contemporary Thought. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Muller, R. (1995). Keynote Address, Countdown 2000: Shaping the Global Age, Toronto: June 2, 1995.

Plato, *Phaedo*, in *The Last Days of Socrates* (1954). trans. Hugh Tredennick. London: Penguin.

Plato, *The Symposium*, trans. Walter Hamilton (1951). London: Penguin.

Swimme, B. (1984). *The Universe is a Green Dragon*: A Cosmic Creation Story. Santa Fe: Bear and Company.

Swimme, B. and Berry, T. (1992). *The Universe Story* : From the Primordial Flaring Forth to the Ecozoic Era- A Celebration of the Unfolding of the Cosmos. San Francisco: Harper.

Spretnak, C. (1984). *The Lost Goddesses of Early Greece* : A Collection of Pre-Hellenic Myths. Boston: Beacon Press.

Donald Clement, RR 5 Georgetown, ON, L7G 4S8. 519-833-9052.
doclem@enoreo.on.ca

The Possibly Impossible: Issues of Fairness and Equity in Large Scale Literacy Assessment with Aboriginal Students

Large scale assessments are proliferating across Canada as the public and public officials ask for more information about the operation of education systems. Issues of fairness and equity are central to testing public school students. Aboriginal peoples and minority groups are particularly sceptical about testing, seeing assessments as an instrument of control which straightjackets disadvantaged peoples and perpetuates a stratified social order. Testing programs are sometimes viewed as another device of imperial domination by advanced monopoly capitalism. The corporate world claims that schools consume 35% of provincial budgets and that educators must be accountable to the general public for the substantial corporate and personal tax resources that they consume. Since considerable public resources are devoted to alternate programming, the assumption is that all students should have had equal opportunities to achieve. Less than equitable outcomes signify that the education system has failed to function well. Every public school student should be able to attain curriculum goals, and provincial or national standards of literacy. Similar expectations are held for band-controlled schools because they are funded out of the public purse.

Cultural differences involving the background knowledge that students bring to a mainstream education are seen as irrelevant since all students must participate in a competitive marketplace. A melting pot philosophy is perceived to underlie large-scale testing. Moreover, critics claim that testing is endorsed by the corporate world as a way of revealing the weaknesses of the public education system and discrediting it, improving the prospects of a private educational system financed with vouchers, breaking teachers' perceived professional monopoly, promoting generic, commercially-developed and outcomes-oriented curricula, and ultimately producing a docile workforce. In this sense, any changes to improve the fairness of tests will be superficial, and efforts to produce non stereotypical reading passages and procedural fairness are only sugarcoating on a bitter educational pill prescribed by the corporate doctor.

A countervailing view can be brought to current large-scale assessment practices in Canada. Testing programs are being developed for different purposes and being conducted in different ways than those south of the 49th parallel. Many provincial, interprovincial and international assessments involve low-stakes, random and anonymous samples of students to examine systemic outcomes rather than to make high-stakes decisions about individual students; tests are used to examine the performance of an education system, not categorize students for placement in programs. Nevertheless, the familiarity of Canadian educators with American educational literature, and the many unhappy experiences of American schools in student evaluation, has predisposed them to castigate large-scale assessments in Canada without critically examining the characteristics and aims of these programs. The introduction of performance and portfolio assessment, and the transition from norm- to criterion- referencing, have been obscured behind simplistic abjurations about "standardized testing". Rather than being a weapon of class warfare, large-scale assessment can be seen as a public policy initiative to uncover cases where the education system has not well-served Aboriginal/First Nations peoples. Assessments yield information for decision-makers, to allow public resources to be allocated so that vertical equity can be achieved. Seen in this light, testing can be seen as an instrument of social liberation because it enables the disadvantaged to document their just claims for a reallocation of public resources. Testing is a means of obtaining information to maximize the potential for Aboriginal youth, not perpetuating deficit models of Aboriginal education. Assessments are about attaining equality, not quality.

This paper addresses the issues and implications of designing a large-scale literacy assessment for Canadian schools, one that is sensitive to Aboriginal/First Nations perspectives, yet appropriate for all students. Whether it be a national or provincial literacy assessment, a number of problems and possibilities need to be considered by those who design, administer, score and interpret large-scale literacy assessments. Issues of fairness, equity, and cultural sensitivity are discussed in six areas: the content or substance of assessment forms; procedural questions in assessment; values inherent in assessment; cultural literacy; alternate definitions of literacy; and the impulses of nationalism as an ideology.

Content of Assessment Forms: Substantive issues include the selection of reading passages to which students respond and from which student writing is generated. Reading passages and tasks must engage students; they must be culturally relevant for readers, should include characters with which students may identify and, in the case of nonfiction works, must raise issues which are relevant for youth. Response to texts means bringing previous experience and personal knowledge to bear on the text as meaning is constructed by the reader. Any literacy assessment which assumes that meaning resides in the text itself, and that the task of the reader is to discover and extract that meaning, is doomed from the outset.

Texts are susceptible of multiple readings produced out of the structure of texts, different reading practices, and different cultural values and experiences. In other words, Aboriginal readers read differently than readers from other cultures, and as a result create different meanings from texts. Readers also create dominant and secondary readings of a text. Since it is normal that a majority group of readers exists in an assessment, a majority dominant reading will prevail.

Research conducted by O'Neill (1995) shows that Cree students in Grade 12 in Saskatchewan responded quite differently to three short stories than did white middle class Australian and Canadian students, and ESL Australian students, primarily of Asian background. When the Cree students found one of the texts offensive because of the attitude taken towards Native Indians in the story by the main character, a white male doctor, the students refused to engage with the text. They did not respond. Where a text is rejected by readers in a large-scale assessment there is no way to assess readers' comprehension of the text, and a zero score appears.

Testing practices currently described as "reading comprehension" may require students to produce "correct readings" defined by the response of the dominant cultural group. Such a practice is likely to discriminate against minority groups. Literacy assessments as currently conducted cannot currently take account of these different cultural discourses. O'Neill (1994) asserts that readers vary in terms not only of the discourses in which they are located, but also the cultural attitudes and values they endorse or challenge, and the reading practices they apply to the text. Rather than construing these differences as personal idiosyncracies, O'Neill takes the position that reader differences tend to be products of social and cultural construction, to a greater degree than they are the results of individual experiences.

Procedural Questions: Many issues can be identified in the procedural aspects of assessment, ranging from the reading and writing strategies demanded in the actual instrument design through to the dynamic of steering an entire project through its various phases. For example, a test construction which features a reading passage and five or six multiple choice questions perhaps reflects a catechismal structure that assumes a correct answer or response. Such an assumption is based on a closed, monologic testing model in which responses are predictable and can be constructed on a normed basis. An authentic response is polyphonous, recursive and unbounded, rarely if ever coming to closure. The problem with multiple choice items in assessing students' response to texts is dealt with in the O'Neill (1995) study where she found that different readings of the same text were produced by different cultural groups. "The outcomes on the relevant multiple choice items showed that where a preferred reading was withheld, students did not necessarily select the alternative dominant reading, but moved towards an option located in yet another discourse which was more attractive to them." (p. 305). Meanings which appear to the dominant group of readers to be clearly wrong interpretations may be selected as the best possible (yet still not clearly meaningful to them) alternative by Aboriginal students and other minority students located in different discourses.

In order to alleviate the pressure on participants, and to protect the confidentiality of participating students and teachers, barcode identifiers are assigned, and the provision of names and locations discouraged in assessment procedures. Anonymity is preserved for all students including those from band-controlled schools in large-scale assessments to create provincial or national profiles of achievement. Yet it might be argued that this (in)sensitivity to local cultural and geographic circumstances denies Aboriginal students their individual identity and a sense of audience when writing.

Current assessments are now attempting, for the first time, to incorporate a writing process approach into data collection and analysis, using a definition of writing process that is phaseal and recursive and which is derived from research and scholarship with a mainstream Eurocentric bias. No research exists to our knowledge which examines the writing processes of Aboriginal students, and more important, their attitudes toward writing in home, community, educational and workplace environments. In fact, the literate bias of language assessment might marginalize Aboriginal peoples who define literacy more holistically to include oracy and oral traditions of knowledge formation and cultural transmission.

Values in Assessment: Of course judgements are inherent in any literacy assessment. The purpose of a literacy assessment is to bring judgement to bear on a piece of student work in the form of language. A central paradox is evident in designing any assessment so that it is nondiscriminatory, since the explicit purpose of tests is to discriminate between various groups on the basis of ability, competence or maturational development. Scores must be assigned and judgements made on the basis of the skills measured, not the ethnic or cultural background of those taking the test.

When judgements are made, they may be based on dominant group values by virtue of the markers selected. Minority readings are considered aberrant. Scorers are often recruited on the basis of application and proximity to the scoring centre to mitigate costs, and tend to be white middle class females from the neighbouring suburbs. In the case of the Saskatchewan provincial learning assessment in 1994, there were two Aboriginal (female) scorers from among 136 applicants. This poses a problem-- that of an available and interested pool of qualified Aboriginals for scoring. Aboriginal educators may be given equal opportunity to assign values in assessment, but unable to take advantage of those opportunities simply because of geographical location and other (family) commitments.

There are issues involved, too, of the values implicit in scoring criteria. One of the more difficult writing elements to score is that of voice. Increasingly, writing teachers strive to have students write in an authentic voice, for two reasons: it is conceived as the driving force behind personal expression, and it derives from the hegemony of ethnography among educational researchers. The broader deconstructive quest has meant that subjects of research are encouraged to speak for themselves in their own voices, and quoted verbatim in research reports. The question teacher-scorers face is, Is the voice authentic? or simply unique or different? How does one assign a value to authenticity or uniqueness? The criterion of well-organized writing too is problematic for scorers; well-established rubrics for gauging organizational qualities in different genres often have a strong academic bias. Yet the interaction of voice and organization means that scorers need to be sensitive to organization features that are very different, and which may be culturally-derived. For example, Chinese organization patterns in academic writing feature oblique thesis statements and cautious conclusions, whereas Western academic writing is more direct in its thesis statement patterns and bolder in its conclusions.

Cultural literacy: We need to ask if it is possible to develop test instruments that do not draw on cultural knowledge, but only on individual responses that do not assume some degree of cultural literacy. Researchers on students' response to literature/text argue that individual response is backgrounded by invisible cultural knowledge. For example, in the O'Neill (1995) study, students who produced divergent or minority readings (these included Cree Canadian students) were just as powerless in accounting for the construction of their readings as were those who produced the dominant reading. In other words, all students, regardless of cultural background, were unaware of how they derived their dominant readings/meanings of the text. But, the difference was that the minority readings/meanings were "corrected" in the O'Neill study, more or less politely by fellow students or teachers, or scored very lowly in comparison with the dominant readings/meanings produced equally without explication by the 'successful' dominant readers.

Research indicates that readers respond to texts from a cultural perspective; the basis of this response is so powerful that neither the readers themselves nor the scorers of their written responses are able to recognize the basis of their responses.

> Culturally critical accounts of different readings argue that readers are not free agents, that they have been constructed as readers and meaning makers by the language that they are born into, the discourses available to them in their culture (these may vary according to race, sex, class and religion, for example), and the reading practices they are taught to apply to texts. Different reading practices may be applied to different kinds of texts, depending on their perceived value and functions. (O'Neill, 1994, p. 5)

Cultural background knowledge is a more powerful determinant of response to text than is reaction to characters in a fictional text, for example. In fact, when cultural values are challenged or denigrated in a text, Aboriginal readers may just reject the text, as did the Cree students in the O'Neill study. When these Grade 12 students read the Hemingway short story "Indian Camp" they failed to engage with the text at any but the most perfunctory levels, with one explicit and outright rejection of the story as offensive. Silence was used as a form of censure. While this may be a culturally specific explanation, literacy assessments have difficulty detecting the passive resistance to or rejection of some texts by Aboriginal students and other minority groups. O'Neill (1995) states that "avoidance or refusal of texts which provide negative or punitive constructions of their cultural group may be a contributory factor in lower levels of attainment in English (and other literacy related subjects) for some minority groups" (p. 306).

In many ways qualitative research undermines propositions that are central to the psychometric view of response, namely item response theory (IRT). IRT was formulated in the 1980s to deal with the shortcomings of classical measurement theory, namely the difficulty of comparing test scores between different groups of examinees and in different contexts. IRT, in its various statistical models, claims to be suitable for adaptive testing because it is possible to obtain ability estimates which are independent of the specific pool of test items used. In other words, different groups of students can be tested with different types of instruments, yet equitable measurements are generated because of the statistical plotting of response patterns to test items.

The assumptions that undergird IRT models must be carefully examined, however. IRT models were formulated simultaneous to the introduction of minimal competency legislation in many American states, and were a technical defence to lawsuits mounted against state-mandated testing programs considered to be racially biased. A primary assumption of Item Response Theory is unidimensionality, that a test is conceived as measuring one set of latent abilities. Yet, even IRT proponents suggest that assumption is generally-false: several cognitive, personality, and test construction factors always affect test performance. A more central difficulty with IRT is the necessity to have a very large pool of test items with known student response patterns, in order to torque the test instrument so that it functions in similar ways with different cultural groups. A minimum of 1000 student responses for each question is considered necessary to ascertain "differential item functioning". We know of no testing program in Canada and few in North America which have collected that amount of Aboriginal student information to make IRT applicable.

Even if possible, we are sceptical that the psychometric properties of North American populations identified by measurement specialists, are applicable with Indian-Métis students. Canadian Aboriginal ways of knowing and epistemology may be quite different than those of the general population, or indeed, than of the minority populations south of the border for whom Item Response Theory was originally formulated.

Defining Literacy: Determining Aboriginal student achievement in the realm of literacy raises many definitional questions. Literacy can be conceived as a tool to get things done in the world, as an artifact of historical interest, as a conduit for transmission of culture, as a way of thinking, or as a means of communication. Literacy assessments must begin with a definition of literacy; many use an historic, literate cultural understanding which may be at odds with an Aboriginal understanding of literacy more akin to an understanding of language, one that embraces the written as well as the oral modes of reception and expression. Aboriginal people may well see literacy as a recent byproduct of colonization, and as such a secondary language system with limited potential for exploring, creating and recreating their own culture. Some literacy tasks in a large-scale assessment may be meaningless for Aboriginal students who would otherwise use the oral language mode to deal with the task. Indeed, Aboriginal conceptions of success in schooling may be different than those of the nonaboriginal population.

Literacy may also contribute to a generational gap in Aboriginal culture, as it does for immigrant families where the gap is one of language difference between the generations, not an oral-literate difference. Thirteen percent of students participating in the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada's 1994 national literacy assessment spoke a different language at home than the one in which they were assessed. We wonder if children raised and educated in a schooled literate tradition have a sense of an oral culture, and if their reliance on literacy serves to create a barrier between themselves and their elders. Rejection of literacy, and thus of literacy schooling, by elders and others who are repositors of a receding oral tradition, would likely result in cultural fragmentation. Likewise, a shift to a literate schooled tradition results in a shift in the knowledge base, from communal knowledge passed from one generation to another, to a global concept of knowledge that is public and acommunal. Indeed, there may be differences within the Aboriginal community itself: does an Inuit student in the central Arctic have a more global concept of knowledge derived via satellite dish than does a Plains Cree student in Saskatoon without a television in the home? How does access to the mass media influence Aboriginal concepts of literacy? Large-scale literacy assessments have difficulty dealing with such rapidly-changing understandings of literacy and its sources.

Nationalism as an Ideology: Literacy has often been defined as an instrument of national survival: the contested position of the French language in Quebec is the archetypical case. Almanacs usually cite national literacy rates as an indicator of socio-economic development along with the gross national product, implying a cause-effect relationship between literacy and economic stability and growth. In fact, the emergence of the modern nation-state in the nineteenth century is closely connected with the extension of universal education through free public schooling. Since nationalists frequently aspire to make cultural boundaries coterminous with political boundaries, literacy becomes an important vehicle for achieving national goals.

To be sovereign implies having control over the language used for asserting sovereignty.

The term 'nation' has become the preferred term for self-identification among Aboriginal peoples, and is often accompanied by the call for linguistic difference. Most definitions of nation imply a cultural, linguistic, and politically homogenous group, which celebrates a rich body of tradition and a common cultural knowledge. Literacy is essential for such a process of political, cultural and linguistic socialization. E. Hirsch's work (1988) on cultural literacy is an explicit call for a uniform literary tradition to reinvigorate a nation. Aboriginal peoples may need to define literacy in ways which will justify their arguments for self-government, and which demarcate their nation from other national identities within the same geographic area. Aboriginal peoples may see nation-wide and province-wide literacy assessments as impeding the emergence of their own nation-state. On the other hand, they may also use large-scale assessments to mobilize youth in the quest for self-determination. The evolution and equation of literacy and nationality will have considerable implications for state-mandated literacy assessments.

REFERENCES

Hambleton, R., Swaminathan, H., & Rogers, H.J. (1991). *Fundamentals of item response theory.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Hirsch, E.D. (1987). *Cultural Literacy: What every American needs to know.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Lord, F.M. (1980). *Applications of item response theory to practical testing problems.* Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

O'Neill, M. (1995). *Variant readings: A cross-cultural study of reading comprehension and literary texts.* Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Murdoch University, Perth, Western Australia, Australia.

O'Neill, M. (1994). Conflicts in comprehension: Readings of literary texts. *English Quarterly*, 26(4), 5-12.

Street, Brian. (1989). *Literacy, nationalism, and assessment.* Paper presented at a colloquium sponsored by the Literacy Centre at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, December 1988. (ERIC ED 359 808)

Trevor J. Gambell, Department of Curriculum Studies, University of Saskatchewan, 28 Campus Drive, Saskatoon, SK S7N 0X1 Phone (306) 966-7573 Fax (306) 966-7658 Internet: GambellT@Duke.Usask.CA

Darryl Hunter, Assessment and Evaluation Unit, Saskatchewan Education, 2220 College Avenue, Regina, SK S4P 3V7 Phone (306) 787-2362 Fax (306) 787-0277 Internet: DHunter@SaskEd.Gov.SK.CA

Free At Last

> *Let's say in phys-ed class you are playing basketball, the guys will just pass it to the other guys, never to a girl --unless you are on the school team and then they might pass it to you but other wise you never get the ball. The other team won't even cover you because they know, they know that you will never get the ball --- even if you are free.*

For the young women in grades nine and ten, physical education was a place relatively free of their male peers. Although Murdoch had only one gym, the dividing door was seldom open. The only young women who experienced coeducational physical education in grades nine or ten were the grade ten girls who had participated in a pilot of a new grade ten physical education course entitled, Wellness Ten. For all other students in grades nine and ten the boys were seldom seen. The only exceptions to this were a seven class partner dance unit, one half day of swimming and an occasional low organizational game day necessitated by bad weather. Physical education in grades eleven and twelve at Murdoch was always taught in a coeducational setting. The girls and the boys were never separated for instruction, although I frequently observed that during practice and game sessions they divided themselves into same sex groupings.

Whether physical education should be taught in same sex or mixed sex groupings has raised much discussion in the physical education literature (Browne, 1992; Griffin, 1989a, 1989b; Martinek, 1991; Scraton. 1992; Wright, 1993). This study has helped me to see that for the majority of the young women the milieu that is created when the boys are removed is not only desirable but essential if they are going to enjoy physical education.

The young women in grade nine and ten with whom I spoke were adamant that physical education during those grades not be taught in coeducational classes. Many of these young women had not had positive experiences in upper elementary school physical education and were pleased and relieved to be free of the boys and experience an all girls environment. Girls in grade eleven and twelve also agreed that physical education in grades nine and ten should not be coeducational. One of the key points expressed was that in an all girls class they could relax and be themselves. They could be comfortable. It is important to note that not all of the young womens' experiences in all girls classes were entirely positive. The young women in grade eleven and twelve who had stopped taking physical education after grade ten did give examples of situations in which they were not treated well by their female classmates. However, a large majority of the young women in the study agreed that an all girls class was much better than a coeducational class.

The young women who chose to leave physical education after grade ten explained to me that they may have considered taking grade eleven physical education if it had not been coeducational. In their words, "it was the guys who probably drove us away from physical education". This is an interesting comment as many of the young women in this group had participated in Wellness Ten. Thus, they had a very recent experience in coeducational physical education classes. On the other hand, the young women who had not participated in the pilot course told me that their negative experiences with boys occurred in elementary school.

The young women currently enrolled in grade eleven and twelve physical education had mixed feelings about the presence of the boys in their physical education classes. The highly skilled young women often said they didn't mind having the boys around, "in grade eleven and twelve you don't have to take it so if you are taking it obviously you don't mind and you know you can do the sports and you can compete with everyone else and you don't really care about who is watching you, but in grade nine and ten it is different". However, many of the grade eleven girls longed for a return to the all girls class they left in grade nine and ten, or provision for units of activities in grade eleven and twelve in which the girls could be together, "cause girls can just relate to each other easier and there is nobody cutting anyone down it is just all girls and you can just be yourself and you don't have to worry about what the guys are thinking or saying" .

What is it about the presence of boys in physical education that caused so many of the young women to feel uncomfortable? This question was not difficult for the young women to answer. Their responses came quickly and were often filled with emotion. I learned that the comments and behaviors of boys profoundly affected their attitudes towards themselves and physical activity in general.

The most common complaint about coeducational physical education was that the boys often made comments that "cut them down," ridiculed and hurt them, " . . .well guys can be down right rude sometimes and they don't care if they hurt your feelings and some of the girls can't take that, they just can't laugh it off. It really hurts" . Griffin (1983) found that such comments, which she termed"hassling" were the most frequently observed boy-girl interaction. She also determined that "boys limited the girls' opportunities to learn by hassling them" (p.83).

These disparaging remarks often included comments about their skill level and or their physical appearance. These were evident in photographs taken that captured experiences "of when you are playing a sport and the guy is yelling at you, like 'do you know how to catch a ball or are you just stupid' " or of a class playing football where, "the guys were saying smart assed remarks that girls can't throw a football" . After a visit to a local fitness center many young women expressed a desire to have a separate weight room for women like the one they had just seen because, "If a girl can't lift as much as a boy they would say, typical girl she can't lift weights" .

It is not surprising to learn that comments such as these served to decrease the participation levels of young women in coeducational physical education classes,

> *At my school if you did something wrong in front of a guy they would get a group of their friends and they would all laugh at you it was like you didn't want to do anything just in case you did something wrong and they would start making fun of you because you are not participating, it was like you couldn't win.*

One young woman told of a classmate in grade eight who eventually stopped participating in physical education, "If we were playing volleyball or something and she would miss the ball, they would all get mad at her. They would start saying things like 'you can't do anything, you can't play this, why do you have to play with us' " . I also heard numerous stories of boys' behaviour limiting the participation of girls in physical education classes.

> *It got so bad last year that most of the girls in my class would not change for phys-ed anymore. There were only two of us left who ever took part in phys-ed. One day some of my friends in the class told me 'I feel like an idiot out there'. So I really tried to encourage them and I really tried to pass the ball to them, but they got intimidated when the boys would groan or roll their eyes if they missed a basket or a pass. After that, they didn't play anymore.*

The experiences of these young women support the research of Griffin (1989c) who determined that in coeducational physical education classes,

> . . .boys often tend to dominate games, ignore female teammates and complain about participating with girls. Girls may hang back, intimidated by boys' harassment and aggressiveness or eventually lose interest and drop out, bored and discouraged. (p.25)

During a softball class, I witnessed the effects of these "hassling" comments. A young woman in a grade eleven physical education class entered the gym eager to play.

With glove in hand she excitedly announced that she was ready to go. The physical education teacher told her that a game had started outside and she should head out to join the others. Off she went, only to return a few minutes later. She put her glove on the bench at the side of the gym and sat down. I approached her and asked her why she wasn't playing. She told me it was because of the guys, she just couldn't put up with their comments. I ventured outside and immediately saw that on each team there were two girls and ten to fifteen boys, there was no teacher present. The two young women were playing left field, the boys occupied all other positions. Approximately twenty young women sat against the fence spectating. I stood back and listened to the young women discuss why they were not playing. A young woman not involved in the study was very agitated as she told her friend beside her that because she could not throw and catch she was not going to play and make a fool of herself. "I can just hear what the guys would say. Who needs it?" In a few minutes the teacher arrived and chastised the young women for not playing. She told them to "go inside and do something." The young women eagerly headed inside and when I arrived a few minutes later they were playing basketball, badminton, and a unique version of indoor soccer .

Coeducational softball classes seemed to be the source of many disparaging remarks. The young women often heard comments from boys in their class such as, "oh there is a girl for you" or "easy out" or laughter upon swiming and missing the ball, or even seeing the boys sit down in the field when a girl was up to bat. Sadker and Sadker (1994) reported the recollections of a young woman,

> I went to school in the late 1980's. I never got to play a base during four years of high school physical education. The boys relegated the girls to the outfield because they said we made mistakes and the team wouldn't win. I think P.E. class was the most gender biased in high school. (p.126)

Sadly many of the young women told me that it is easier to just accept these comments because saying something or walking away often meant more put downs, "I think it is more embarrassing walking away because they are just going to talk about you and make fun of you and the next time you go to play they are just going to say well you didn't want to play last time, why do you want to play now?". It is better to endure the comments when they are delivered; if you do not, they will only get worse. Griffin (1983) found that, "girls limited their abilities to learn by accepting boys' hassles. Rather than asking or demanding that boys stop, they usually tried to ignore the boys or moved to another event" (p. 83-84).

In addition to boys commenting on their skill level, many young women gave example of situations in which they or their friends had to endure remarks about their bodies, "if there is a bigger girl running around the gym and they are running a little bit slow and the guys are dashing by thinking they are so good, then they say something like 'thump, thump, thump, there must be an earthquake' ". Unfortunately, many of such comments from the boys were sexual in nature. An example of sexual harassment is evident in a young woman's experience in a square dance activity,

> *Well I was dancing with one guy and he started looking me up and down and saying "hmmmm" and then he did a lizard mouth. The guys are like really bold, they would take your shirt and like touch it right here (on the breast) and say "oh is this cotton or something like that" and they are touching you.*

A similar experience was recalled by a young woman who eagerly left physical education after grade ten, "Guys are just pigs like if they are standing there and there is a group of girls doing jumping jacks they will sit there and say 'oh baby'. Then you have to do the jumping jacks and hold your boobs".

During my time at Murdoch I observed a cricket class in which one young woman who had previously expressed her enjoyment in playing the sport did not seem to be having fun. During a subsequent discussion she explained that in cricket she had to bend over to hit the ball and one of the boys had come out of the locker room and said, "Oooh look at her ass". She didn't want to play after that.

The three grade twelve girls who were taking physical education had many examples of sexually offensive comments. After one of our meetings they encouraged me to come and observe their next physical education class to see for myself what they had to go through. The first thing that hit me when I began observing was how alone they were in the class, they were the only young women in a class of twenty five. I was struck by how vulnerable they seemed. I recall that they sat together and would have stayed as a group during the archery lesson had the teacher not split them up.

During the class a group of boys began to stare at me and laugh among themselves. Uncertain as to whether it was my imagination or not, I left the gym for a while and returned once the class was underway. Upon my return this same group of boys continued to stare and laugh. As I began to look away one of the boys deliberately faced me placed an arrow between his legs and began to rub his hand up and down the arrow. I turned away and the boys immediately broke into fits of laughter. I was appalled by this behavior and immediately looked to see if the male physical education teacher had witnessed this, however he was on the other side of the gym with his back turned to the boys. At the end of the class I shared this experience with the young women and asked them if they thought I had misinterpreted the boy's actions. One young woman assured me that I had not been incorrect in my observation and was able to immediately tell me the boy's name because "he does that to me when I am in his group. When he goes to get the arrow he always does that before he gives it to me" . As if that wasn't enough for that particular class, I was told that I should have sat closer to the class, "because then you could have heard some of the things that they say. Like the teacher has these nice little commands like 'knock your arrow at 90' ' and then a guy says to me 'knock her up at 90'.' Like they are so sick" .

Again I asked the young women if they would say anything to the boys about their comments. Sadly they told me that there was nothing they could do to stop the comments and if they said something, things would only get worse. These feelings are similar to those reported by Sadker and Sadker (1994), "Sensitive and insecure about their appearance, some girls are so intimidated they suffer in silence. Others fight back only to find this heightens the harassment. Many girls don't even realize they have a right to protest" (p.9).

Staton and Larkin (1993) posed an important question to the young women in their study, "If your school was declared a harassment free zone tomorrow, how would your life be different?" A young woman replied,

> One less worry, that's for sure. It would definitely be nice to go wherever you wanted and you didn't have to worry about stuff like that -- someone would be hitting on you, flirting with you, making you feel uncomfortable. It would be nice to work or be in an environment that you felt comfortable in, instead of always having to worry about what was going to happen next -- or what to do. (p.21)

Many young women in physical education classes are crying out for such an environment. If they are going to be encouraged to participate in physical education classes it is imperative that physical education teachers take an active role in reducing the amount of harassment that occurs in physical education classes. We must do what we can to help young women feel comfortable.

> The problem of sexual harassment (verbal, emotional and physical) is potentially intensified when dealing with activities which center on the physical. There is growing evidence that girls have to cope with severe harassment throughout their daily lives, especially in mixed settings in schools. (Scraton, 1992, p.92)

In addition to experiencing verbal comments and sexual harassment many of the young women shared stories of boys taking over numerous coeducational physical education activities, "The guys always scored all the time because they wouldn't throw it to the girls because they thought we couldn't catch". It became apparent that the boys were able to do this because they were more skilled or they assumed they were more skilled than the girls in the activity. Thus, they simply did not include them in the game or drill. The young women explained that they would frequently motion for a pass, "Then it comes to you and this guy zips in front of your face and he has the ball".

It also became apparent that if a group of young women were participating in an activity by themselves the boys would often "overpower" them. There were numerous examples of this,

> *We had a free period so the girls went outside to throw the football around and this guy just stood there and stared at me, just trying to bug me. He said something like, "you are a girl, you don't know how to throw a football". Our teacher was throwing with us so they could see that I did know how to throw a football. So they started coming into our game and running in front of us and taking the ball. I just kind of went, "OK whatever."*

I heard many stories of boys "taking over" games,

> *One time the boys were playing hockey and the girls were playing soccer on skates. About five guys didn't have sticks so they came and played soccer with us. After they joined our game maybe three girls touched the ball. They were speedo skaters and I can hardly skate at all, but I was trying and having fun before they came. But when they came they started to skate circles around us and we didn't get to play after that. They like to take over, they just automatically take over -- they keep the ball with them and then the girls don't want to play anymore.*

Evans (1989) observed a basketball practice and a soccer lesson, and noted that the boys dominated the play,

> In the basketball practice for example, boys seemed to retain possession of the ball for a great deal of the time; a situation hardly surprising given that most were a good deal taller than most of the girls. Though they seemed no more able or knowledgeable about what they were doing than most of the girls, they were empowered merely by their physical presence and size to dominate the setting. . . . despite all the efforts and ability which the girls had displayed during the skill practice situations, for the most part they were simply left out of the soccer game by the boys. (p.9)

After experiencing an all girls physical education class in grades nine and ten, one young woman, a grade eleven student, longed for a return to such a situation as she felt that the girls would be more active. "Like if you are playing basketball or something and one girl goes off by herself to play when the guys come in they will push her off, and she will go. . .I would stand up for myself, but there are too many shy girls".

I had seen this happen many times during my time at Murdoch. One such incident occurred at the end of the year. The girls' teacher was taking in locks and gave the girls the opportunity to use the gym for a free period. They enjoyed this a great deal, most of them choosing to play badminton and basketball. The boys class was outside playing softball. About half way through the period, some of the boys apparently bored with the softball game, began to straggle into the gym. The girls' teacher did not notice them as she was moving in between the girls' locker room and her office. Within a few minutes the boys had taken over the center of the gym, moving four badminton games and at least ten young women from their positions around the baskets. The young women were forced to the periphery of the gym where there was limited space and only a couple of baskets. I sat in amazement at the relative ease with which the boys exerted their dominance of the gymnasium. Most of the young women simply shrugged their shoulders and moved out of the way.

As many of them had been forced to give up their basketballs a few of them came and asked me if I could get them some more. I did so reluctantly. I wanted to tell them to go and assert themselves, to go and push the boys off, just as the boys had pushed them off. After all, the gym had been booked for them, the boys were supposed to be outside. However, I did not, instead I gave them more balls and watched as they played on the periphery of the gym. I recall that as I looked out onto the gym that day, the whole scene had changed. Within minutes the young women were marginalized, about half as many young women were active and those that were still playing had to compromise their activity. No longer were they running full court after a pass, instead they crowded around one or two baskets. The badminton games were now crammed into narrow spaces at the side of the boys basketball game. So many young women had told me that in coeducational physical education classes they participated less, "the guys don't let you participate, they are always right in the middle. They shove you out of the way" .

> This physical domination of physical activities appears to begin at an early age, Every morning at recess in school yards across the country, boys fan out over the prime territory to play kick ball, football, or basketball. Sometimes girls join them, but more often it's an all male ball game. In the typical schoolyard, the boys' area is ten times bigger than the girls'. Boys never ask if it is their right to take over the territory, and it is rarely questioned. Girls huddle along the sidelines, on the fringe, as if in a separate female annex. Recess becomes a spectator sport. (Sadker & Sadker, 1994, p.60)

Numerous researchers (Bischoff, 1982; Griffin, 1989b; Kollen, 1983) have determined that in physical education classes, girls are in fact "shunted to the side as more aggressive students are allowed to dominate class games" (Griffin, 1989b, p.227). Griffin (1989a) concludes,

> In classes where game play predominates and instruction is minimal, the experienced, aggressive and talented students flourish at the expense of their classmates. When class norms allow name calling, verbal harassment, or poor sport behavior to go unchallenged, students learn to defend themselves by either attacking classmates first, choosing only "safe" activities, or withdrawing from participation altogether. (p.20)

Not only had the boys pushed the young women to the sidelines, the young women seemed to understand and accept this. It was almost as though it was easier to let the boys control the activity, than to question why it was happening. Perhaps the young women did not question it because they felt powerless to do anything about it. These feelings are supported by Oldenhove (1990) who believes that because so many girls have limited access to equipment and space, and have had to endure harassing comments about their bodies and their physical skills, their confidence is greatly undermined. For the young women in this study, the comments and behaviors of boys led many of them to conclude that physical education is more important for boys "it seems like everything in phys-ed is made for guys".

To a young woman who has been constantly reminded that she is not skilled enough or her body is not athletic enough it must indeed seem that everything in physical education is made for, and controlled by, the boys. I heard and observed many examples of boys controlling much of what goes on in the physical education environment. This control and dominance is not only evident in the actions and behaviors of boys it is also evident in the physical environment of the school and the gymnasium. At Murdoch for example, the gym is surrounded by posters of male basketball players, all in preparation for a huge annual boys basketball tournament. The pictures in the hall outside of the gym are of the winners of this tournament and the wall of fame which honors past Murdoch athletes has one picture of a female, her accomplishments dating back to the 1930's. Even the majority of pictures in the girls' physical education office are of males in action. A series of posters encouraging students to earn a high school diploma were Visual images coupled with the attitudes and behaviors of students may serve to make many young women feel as if they do not belong in the physical education environment. If we want to encourage more young women to be physically active I feel that the presentation of material such as this must change.

Conclusion

For young women to be physically active they need an environment in which they feel respected and valued. Borys, Daniels, Dallaire, and Watkinson (1990) suggest that "In a milieu of respect for and acceptance of individual differences learners can be outgoing instead of being withdrawn" (p.17). I have learned from the young women involved in this study that such an environment rarely existed in their experiences in coeducational physical education classes. I repeatedly heard stories of boys ridiculing, harassing and excluding young women from physical activity.

As physical educators I believe our goal should be to create an environment that offers young women many opportunities to learn, experience, and feel confident with what their bodies can do. I agree with Chalmers (1990) who suggests that the most important goal of a physical education environment for young women is that they develop, a sense of value of their own bodies. She states, "If physical education can be taught with this in mind, young women can appreciate its importance, they can develop a healthy relationship with their bodies that has been so lacking in our culture" (p.121).

It is important to note however, that simply grouping young women together in physical education classes does not gurarantee that such a goal will be achieved. It is imperative that physical education teachers of both genders reflect upon the beliefs, attitudes and expectations they hold for the young women in their classes. Many of the young women in this study expressed the feeling that because of their low skill and confidence levels physical education teachers did not pay attention to them in their physical education classes. To them it appeared that their physical education teachers "spent all of their time with the people who were already good." .

If physical education is taught in a coeducational setting the teacher has a unique opportunity and responsibility to educate students of both genders about the importance of respect and cooperation. Teachers in coeducational classes are encouraged to actively monitor the interactions between the young men and young women in their classes and clearly indicate that harassing, disrespectful comments will not be tolerated. In addition, it is imperative that physical education teachers model behaviors that demonstrate that they respect and value their students and colleagues of both genders. .

Young women and young men need to know that they are welcome, valued, and can succeed, in physical education classes regardless of their gender or level of skill. Our students deserve to participate in an environment that is safe, supportive and free from ridicule and harassment. I believe it is up to us as physical educators to do everything we can to ensure that such an environment exists in all of our classes. If, as physical educators we want to move forward and create such an environment, I believe we will be able to move young women from the sidelines of physical activity to the center of the action. They may indeed be . . .free at last.

References

Borys, A. , Daniels, D. , Dallaire, H. , & Watkinson, J. (1990) . *A position paper on gender equity in physical education.* A paper prepared for the Canadian Association of Health, Physical Education and Recreation.

Browne, J. (1992) . Coed or not coed? That is the question. *ACHPER National Journal.* Winter. 20-23.

Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation. (1994) . *Gender equity workshop.* Ottawa, ON: Author.

Chalmers, S. (1992) . The influence of teachers on young women's experiences of physical education. *New Zealand Journal of Health Physical Education & Recreation. 25* (4), 3-6.

Evans, J. (1989) . Equality and opportunity in the physical education curriculum. *ACHPER National Journal. 123,* 8-11.

Griffin, P. S. (1983) . Gymnastics is a girls thing: Student participation and interaction patterns in a middle school gymnastics unit. In T. J. Templin & K. Olson (Eds.) , *Teaching in physical education.* (pp. 70-85) . Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.

Griffin, P. S. (1989a) . Assessment of equitablei nstructional practices in the gym. *Canadian Association of Physical Education and Recreation Journal. 55* (2), 19 -22.

Griffin, P. S. (1989b) . Gender as a socializing agent in physical education. In T. Templin & P. Schemp (Eds.) , *Socialization into physical education: Learning to teach.* (pp. 219-233) . Indianapolis, IN: Benchmark.

Griffin, P. S. (1989c) . Equity in the gym: What are the hurdles? *Canadian Association of Physical Education and Recreation Journal. 55* (2), 23 -26.

Kollen, P. (1983) . Fragmentation and integration in human movement. In T. Templin & J. Olson (Eds.) , *Teaching in physical education.* (pp. 86-93) . Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.

Martinek, T. J. (1991) . *Psycho - social dynamics of teaching physical education.* Dubuque, IA: Brown & Benchmark.

Oldenhove, H. (1990) . Girls achievement and self esteem: The contributution of physical education and sport. *Proceedings of the Commonwealth and International Conference on Physical Education, Health, Sport, Dance,Recreation and Leisure. 1,* 171 - 176.

Sadker, M. & Sadker, D. (1994) . *Failing at Fairness: How America's Schools Cheat Girls.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons

Scraton, S. (1992) . *Shaping up to womanhood: Gender and girls' physical education.* Buckingham, England: Open University Press.

Staton, P. & Larkin, J. (1993) . *Sexual harassment the intimidation factor.* Toronto, ON: Green Dragon Press Seacraft Publications.

Wright, B. (1993) . Coed physical education and gender equity - Politics or pedagogy. *Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation, 59* (2), 13-15

M. Louise Humbert, College of Physical Education, 105 Gymnasium Place, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, SASK. S7N 5C2, (306) 966-7698, fax (306) 966-6502, email: humbertl@duke.usask.ca.

Gender Issues in the Mathematics Classroom

M. Elaine Harvey

Abstract

This paper discusses inequities in the mathematics classroom in relation both to students who are young women and to women teachers. It attempts to trace the changes that have taken place in the secondary school mathematics classrooms in Ontario, Canada, that have influenced the attitudes and interests of young women in the field of mathematics throughout a generation or more. Present trends and future directions are also explored. Much of this paper is based on personal observation and experience both as a student and as a teacher of mathematics who has throughout a lifetime of experience felt the effects of being denied membership in the white, male privileged class.

Introduction

Girls and women have been disadvantaged in the mathematics classrooms of Ontario since the first establishment of schools in this province nearly two hundred years ago. It was not until 1865 that girls were reluctantly permitted to attend high school. Only in the last thirty years have women begun to be involved in decision-making regarding education. With the resulting increase in awareness and new strategies for girl students, there is hope for greater equity in the future.

To set the stage for this paper, I would like you to know that it is not based on the scientific method. While I respect the scientific method, I feel also that personal experience, feelings and opinions have a power that has been devalued in the educational system in Canada, in most of North America and Europe and probably in other parts of the world as well. In particular, the experiences, feelings and opinions of women have been devalued. In fact, the rational side of humanity has been over-valued at the great expense of the emotional, passionate, intuitive. This valuation has been done by those who wield the power--in Canada, the white, privileged male. Women have never abandoned the intuitive, the passionate and the emotional. The pendulum has swung to the extreme position in the rational direction and must now begin the long swing back through the continuum toward the emotional.

Mathematics Curriculum as It Affects Women

Mathematics has generally been presented as a rational, unemotional subject in the school system of Ontario. The male power structure has been nurtured through the teaching and learning of this academic subject. McLellan (1878, p. 9) begins an arithmetic textbook with this problem: “A boy spends 1 cent of every 5 cents he has: how many does he spend of 20 cents?” Note the matter-of-factness--the rationality--of the phrasing of this question and note also--being the very first item in the textbook--the status it gives to the boy students in using a boy as subject and giving him the prestige that comes with having money. (My father had no money of his own when he was in school during the first and second decades of this century. Forty years later he gave my brother status by paying him to cut the grass, but I, a girl, was not given the same status and financial reward for washing the dishes.) There is nothing in the introductory mathematics question in this old textbook that would either interest or empower girls.

The only non-objective, non-rational message in the book was hand-written in pencil inside the front cover of my copy for the benefit of its original owner, M. Douglas, a student of Campbellford High School in Ontario:

> If you wish to partake of Heavenly Joys
> You must think more of the Lord
> And less of the Boys.
> Yours etc.,
> Bill Nye (M. E. Harvey's copy of McLellan, 1878, frontispiece)

And you will note that this message to Miss Douglas is an admonition to a young woman by a young man to place her thoughts in the hands of the male supreme father figure and allow the boys to control matchmaking while the girls passively wait to be noticed. In 1878 curriculum content and societal thinking reinforced the power position of the male and the servitude of the female.

DeLury (1904, p.1) begins, "*Arithmetic* is the science of number. The source of number is to be found in the question, How many?, asked with respect to a collection of objects admitting a common name." Would you read on? How cold and uncaptivating this is!

With this heritage, is it any wonder that a young math-phobic woman about a decade ago would have written the following description of mathematics?

> On the eighth day, God created mathematics. He took stainless steel, and he rolled it out thin, and he made it into a fence, forty cubits high, and infinite cubits long. And on this fence, in fair capitals, he did print rules, theorems, axioms and pointed reminders. "Invert and multiply." "The square on the hypotenuse is three decibels louder than one hand clapping." "Always do what's in the parentheses first." And when he was finished, he said, "On one side of this fence will reside those who are good at mathematics. And on the other will remain those who are bad at mathematics, and woe unto them, for they shall weep and gnash their teeth."
>
> Math does make me think of a stainless steel wall--hard, cold, smooth, offering no handhold, all it does is glint back at me. Edge up to it, put your nose against it, it doesn't take your shape, it doesn't have any smell, all it does is make your nose cold. I like the shine of it--it does look smart, in an icy way. But I resent its cold impenetrability, its supercilious glare. (Buerk, 1985, p.59)

Take note of the emotionlessness of the statement created by the male-oriented images--a male (not a female) god taking steel (not pastry) making a linear fence (not an encircling supporting structure). The hard, cold steel of the answer that is either right or wrong, the never deviating from the way one is taught to use the algorithm, is what many girls find undesirable in mathematics. They also see no relevance in answering questions that do not now nor will they in the future relate in any way to their lives.

The Experience of Becoming and Being a Teacher of Mathematics

Now, I was brought up by my parents to be a housewife which is an occupation that I felt I would never succeed at--my mother being in my eyes perfection itself in that department. With that background I failed to see the relevance of my education to my future role in life, but I loved school anyway, and I loved mathematics in particular. Being successful in mathematics, I was unaware of those who were not winners. There was always competition--to get the answer first, to have the best solution, to get the highest mark. I was not consciously aware that the teacher spent most of his time helping the boys. I could not verbalize why I wished I had been a boy. I did not realize then that when I asked for help the teacher did not act as facilitator but rather as demonstrator. He kept the pencil in his hand, and I watched passively. I did learn that every question had only one right answer. Few had any relevance to my life either then or in the future--but unlike many girls and some boys, I loved mathematics for its own sake.

It was not, however, a shock to me to be advised in 1952 by our family friend, the head of the mathematics department at our local university, not to go into mathematics, but rather to take honour English and French. I did as I was told--then. In spite of this advice, I studied mathematics teaching methods at the then Ontario College of Education and through perseverance became a mathematics teacher.

I was taught to teach mathematics in the same manner as I had been taught by the male teachers in my high school. It was highly competitive, very logical, and at the school level, lacked creativity. What a surprise it was to find when I became a teacher that not all my students loved the subject as I did!

I would like to take you through an allegory that relates to my early days and personal evolution as a mathematics teacher. It also, I believe, adds something of the emotional, intuitive dimension to this paper.

> Year after year, the woman/teacher/employee of the man/principal/boss was assailed by questions--in the early days from without, but as the students stopped coming, the questions began from within.
>
> It was not, after all, as though she had a real right to be surprised. He had made it clear from the beginning that he was fit only to be a principal, and that he must sit withdrawn in his broadloomed office. If the world came and asked anything of him, as students, or if the world came and gave to him, as donors of praise, that was the business of the world, and not his concern. Even though he had never said all this in words, the empty spaces deep behind his eyes had clearly told her so. The handmaiden/teacher of the holyman/principal could not say that he had ever deceived her. Yet year after year she was assailed by questions.
>
> She remembered that, in the early days, the questions students asked had seemed, at first, terribly difficult for her to answer. They asked, "What is the subject of mathematics all about?" They asked, "Why do we have to study it?" They asked, "How can we use this in our lives?" They asked, "Will you give us a spare?" They asked, "Will you let us out early?" A few even asked, "What is it like to be a woman/teacher/employee in this patriarchal system?"

> She remembered with a sad smile how her replies had changed over the years. In the beginning she gave them brief answers to their questions which indicated that she thought they would all become engineers eventually, but she did so with an expression on her face which deliberately implied that she knew far more than she could ever tell.
>
> Then, later, she began to invent answers; sometimes the answers would vary from student to student--which the students interpreted as further weighty difficult mathematical concepts. Thus she added to the legend of mathematics anxiety, when actually she was merely experimenting with various responses to see which was most effective in hiding her own ignorance.
>
> Only much later, when students had begun to ask, "Why is the principal so severe in his counsel to us?" or "Why is there no mercy tempering his judgments?" or "Is he angry with us? Does our behaviour disturb his mission?"--only then did the handmaiden/teacher of the holyman/principal begin to reply simply, "I don't know," to all their questions. At first this response felt to her like a betrayal of her defense of the holy man; then it felt to her like a shameful admission of her own ignorance; at last she grew indifferent to its meaning anything but the truth. (adapted from Morgan, 1984, p. 9-10)

If you consider that this allegory reflects my development as a teacher of mathematics, you will recognize the change that emanated through reflection and analysis from the submissive, obedient young woman to the self-empowering experienced teacher who could never teach mathematics in the competitive traditional way.

Changing the Curriculum

Dale Spender (1985, p.141) has stated, "Once certain categories are constructed within the language, we proceed to organize the world according to those categories." Once we have divided mathematics into arithmetic, algebra, geometry, functions, calculus, etc., then we proceed to organize the world according to those categories. Spender continues, "We even fail to see evidence which is not consistent with those categories." Morris Kline (1974, p.5) on the other hand says that mathematics "has been able to provide a rational organization of natural phenomena . . . . Mathematics has brought life to the dry bones of disconnected facts and . . . has bound series of detached observations into bodies of science." But at the same time what mathematics has done is to allow us to dismiss those natural phenomena that cannot be rationally organized, those disconnected facts and detached observations which would not fit into bodies of science. Our methods of labelling and/or classifying both elucidate and limit our knowledge of the subject in question. The parameters of the questions we ask help to ordain the parameters of the answers we find.

For example, the traditional Euclidean approach to the study of triangles classifies them according to equality of sides and/or angles. This approach is useful in the building trades, but it does little to stimulate artistic endeavours involving tessellations such as quilt-making and tiling. The study of transformational geometry began to gain credibility about twenty years ago in the schools of Ontario, but has lost much of its hold on curriculum in the last few years. It is a subject that displays a greater equilibrium between the rational and the intuitive than many other formal branches of geometry. Because it may involve intuition and creativity, it fails to be perceived as logical. It is the old patriarchal game:

content supersedes process
logic supersedes intuition
drill supersedes understanding
serving the privileged supersedes serving everyone
concern for the particular supersedes concern for the whole
objectivity supersedes subjectivity

Adrienne Rich (1977) says that objectivity is merely male subjectivity.

Dale Spender (1985, p.59) notes, "Women's meanings cannot just be added on. Little is gained by the production of more knowledge about women while it is confined to patriarchal definitions and while it is constructed according to patriarchal criteria." She continues, "If women are to have their own voice and not just to echo men, then new *cerebration,* a new way of knowing is required." Roberta Hamilton (personal communication, September, 1985) has said, "In changing the world, we are changing what there is to know. Our way of apprehending the world is different because we ask different questions of it.". This new way of knowing must come out of women's experiences. If we accept the male classification of mathematics as an academic subject--which as a lover of mathematics I am prepared to do--then we must look for the mathematics in women's lives.

Dorothy Buerk (1981) recognizes that women's conception of knowledge is generally relativistic whereas mathematical knowledge is dualistic. I believe that if we identify non-dualistic mathematics, we will find "women's mathematics". The pathway to this non-dualistic mathematics may be found through geometry--the geometry of patterns: knitting, embroidery, table setting, placing the furniture in a classroom, topology, etc. The patterns developed by women who knitted sweaters for fishermen in Ireland and in Newfoundland being unique for each individual were used to identify the bodies of men who were lost at sea. What mathematics student has ever studied some of those patterns and been asked to create a unique pattern of her own?

I have found success in using recreational mathematics as a curriculum base. Through it one can develop mathematical creativity in a positive non-threatening atmosphere of play and fun. Mathematical and problem solving skills are found within these activities. They are no longer ordered in an hierarchical manner, but rather are related to the activity at hand.

The best teacher begins where the student is. Why not begin with the graffiti that students who are not drawing-phobic sketch in their notebooks? One can frequently relate their doodles to ancient symbols which have a deep spiritual meaning. At the same time, one can discuss the symmetry of the symbol, its different permutations, and a variety of other connected topics--many of them mathematical. The five-pointed star or Pentagram of Pythagoras, for example, can lead to a discussion of the Fibonnacci sequence, limits, solving quadratic equations with incommensurable roots, pine cones, sunflowers and rabbits. Geometry, although integral to people's experience is de-emphasized in the school system. Yet it contains the greatest potential to connect with the student's physical world of any of the branches of mathematics that are taught in the schools.

Changing the Teaching Methods

Douglas Barnes (1992) recognizes that there are different types of language. The language of control is not the language of learning. Teacher-led learning does not promote student learning. Learning is asking questions and listening to the ideas of others. Learning is an active process where the learner remains open to ideas, is self-processing and even initiates the exploration. The key to methodology from a feminist perspective is to respect everyone's experience and knowledge. The traditional way is to reduce knowledge to abstractions.

Dorothy Buerk (1981) in her experiment emphasized "experiencing" a problem or question. Participants were encouraged "to share their visual and fanciful images of the problem, to ask questions about the meaning of the problem, to develop their own perceptions of it, and to live with it for just a bit. . . . . The time given to this 'experiencing' step was important to allow each woman to give the problem a context and to clarify it both visually and verbally."

I realize now that the obstacles that I have encountered in encouraging students to grapple with a problem--experience it--discuss it--share ideas about it--take it home and dream on it--are the result of the dualistic/hierarchical/ patriarchal way of dealing with mathematics. Once when a grade nine class discovered a pithy problem for which none of the students had an immediate answer, I asked the students to ponder it for homework, and we would complete the discussion the next day. They came back eager to continue the discussion and were able to resolve the problem with very little help from me. However, I was accused at the end of the first class by an observing administrator of avoiding the issue because he assumed that I did not know the answer. (In my feminist mind, not knowing the answer and acknowledging that lack of knowledge to the class creates a much more realistic and honest learning situation. The teacher is no longer withholding the answer from the students as the students grope frustratingly to find it.)

A woman professor told me once that women mathematics students can be very frustrating. Just as a lecture reaches the key teaching concept, a woman student sometimes asks a question that is on the fringe of the main thrust of the lesson. The professor recognizes that the student needs an answer to her question before she can absorb the main point of the lesson even though most students would find her question somewhat irrelevant. I believe this is a common occurrence with women, because they do not usually consider ideas in isolation but rather in context. It is valid for women to want the information that puts the problem in context, but this mathematics professor, even though she is a woman, was trivializing this need!

Women would not evaluate students by testing, assigning marks and ranking them. Tests, examinations and marking systems support a hierarchy which is a patriarchal approach. If we were to look for evidence of a feminist approach to evaluation, we would immediately recognize that marks are generally no longer determined by only one do-or-die examination. Term work marks have become increasingly important. However, let us not assume that marks are necessary. Our traditional society is in love with numbers. We want to quantify the unquantifiable. How does one assign a number value to knowledge? Instead of marks grades could be used, or even complete/incomplete. But why do we labour under the assumption that external evaluation is essential to education? It is not essential to learning. In fact, it may even be detrimental to learning. Now that educators are integrating a number of evaluation techniques, students are sometimes asked to evaluate themselves. Self evaluation has the greatest potential because it places the responsibility entirely on the students themselves. Only when external evaluation methods are eliminated will students begin to gain expertise in self evaluation with honesty. Students who assume readiness for a course for which they are not prepared will have to deal with the consequences of their own decisions. Let us then explore the possibility of education without external evaluation.

Conclusion

It will be necessary to find the mathematics in women's lives, validate it and create a school curriculum which includes it. As well the teaching methods should be non-confrontational and non-competitive. The classroom environment should be safe both physically and emotionally and interaction among students and teacher should be co-operative. Linking curriculum to students' lives, using a cooperative teaching model, and creating a classroom environment where all people and opinions are respected will lead to greater equity in mathematics education for girls and women, and indeed for all students.

References

Barnes, Douglas, (1992). *From communication to the curriculum* (2nd ed.). Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Boynton Cook.

Buerk, Dorothy. (1981). *Changing the conception of mathematical knowledge in intellectually able mathematics avoidant women.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo.

Buerk, Dorothy. (1985). The voices of women making meaning in mathematics, *Journal of Education, 167,* (3), 59.

DeLury, Alfred T., (1904). *An arithmetic for high schools and collegiate institutes,* Toronto: Canada Publishing.

Kline, Morris, (1974). *Mathematics in western culture.* London: Oxford University Press.

McLellan, J.A., (1878). *Mental arithmetic, Part II,* Toronto: W. J. Gage.

Morgan, Robin, (1984). *The anatomy of freedom,* Garden City, New York: Anchor Books/Doubleday.

Rich, Adrienne, (1977). *Of Woman Born.* Toronto: Bantam.

Spender, Dale, (1985). *Man made language* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

M. Elaine Harvey, 137 Inverness Crescent, Kingston, Ontario K7M 6G9,
phone/fax 613-544-1392, e-mail: elaiharv@enoreo.on.ca

Jurassic Pedagogy in a Technocratic Park

"I would rather be a cyborg than a goddess."
--Donna Haraway

The advent of microcomputers, graphing calculators, the super highway and virtual reality in classrooms brings us to the beginning of a new era in education. It is important that the rapid changes in our society, in technology, in methods of communications and in knowledge are reflected in changes in education, both in what is taught and in the methods by which the pupils learn. In Michael Crichton's "Jurassic Park", the most sophisticated technology was coupled with the most antiquated creatures to create a science fictional nightmare. Technology is infiltrating every area of our lives--unharnessed it will create a micro world within the educational system. As educators, it is our responsibility to prevent the 'chaos theory' by ensuring technology is used effectively.

Whereas hydrocarbons and muscle power were the major fuel of the industrial age, information and mind power will be the major fuel providing energy in the information economy. Knowledge will be the principal product produced by this fuel. Jacques Attali, in his profound essay, Millennium, suggested that the impact of information technology will be even more radical than that of the harnessing of steam and electricity in the nineteenth century. Rather it will be more akin to the discovery of fire by early ancestors, since it will prepare the way for a revolutionary leap into a new age that will profoundly transform human culture. We are evolving rapidly into a society in which the key strategic resource necessary for prosperity and social well-being has become knowledge itself.

Faculty members of the "knowledge-server" college must set aside their roles as teachers and instead must become "designers" of learning experiences, processes and environments. Further, faculty must discard the present style of solitary learning experiences, in which students tend to learn primarily on their own through reading, writing and problem solving. Instead they must develop collective learning experiences in which students work together and learn together with the faculty member becoming more of a consultant than a teacher-- a guide on the side not a sage on the stage. The classroom must be replaced by more appropriate and efficient learning experiences, possible in a situated critical pedagogy approach described by Michael Streibel. Interaction with the learner must "help the learner grow toward "responsible freedom," embody the ideals of justice and equality and help learners find their own voice." [Streibel, 1993] Technology will help educators adapt curricula to individual learner characteristics. For a class of learners, with different learning styles, to be active participants in learning, different approaches with varied types of technology are required. Howard Gardner's research on multiple intelligence's suggests that each individual may learn different subject areas differently. In other words within one's self, different frames of mind exist. [Gardner, 1983] It is this schemata of multiple intelligence's, different learning styles and different cultural backgrounds, that has prompted the inclusion of varied approaches to problems and a varied use of technology.

Kulik and Kulik also believe that this information age will radically change education. "Computers have also given us a radically different way of handling information, and so it seems inevitable that they too will dramatically alter the way we lead our lives." [Kulik, 1985] Research needs to be tied to theories of learning. We need a new agenda for researching the effects of computer-related technologies. "Also, as all educators know, it is not the technology in and of itself but the way in which the technology is *used* that is likely to influence student outcomes." [Herman, 1994] In other words, it is the integration of many different technologies with different instructional targets and different goals for student performance that are necessary to address the various 'frames of minds' within each learner within each classroom of learners. The presentation addressed this issue by showing examples of a variety of technologies that were used in a calculus course.

This paradigm shift of incorporating technology is forced upon educators by the students themselves. Today's students are members of the "multimedia" generation. They have spent their early lives surrounded by robust, visual, electronic media--Sesame Street, MTV, home computers, video games, cyberspace, networks and virtual reality. They approach learning as a 'plug-and play' experience, unaccustomed and unwilling to learn in sequential, pyramid approach of the traditional college curriculum. The tools of creation are expanding rapidly in both scope and power. Today we have the capacity to literally create objects atom-by-atom. We are developing the capacity to create new life-forms through the tools of molecular biology and genetic engineering. And we are now creating new intellectual "life forms" through artificial intelligence and virtual reality. In order to nurture and teach the art and skill of these creations and to prosper in today's global economy, our curriculum must be based on scientific, mathematical and most of all technological strength. The engine of progress is not transportation but rather communication, enabled by the profound advances in computers, networks, satellites, fiber optics, and related technologies. It is clear that information technology, on which our knowledge-intensive society is increasingly dependent, continues to evolve rapidly.

This evolution demands radical changes in the curriculum and instruction. To change the philosophy of teaching and the learning environment we must recognize the importance of technology. David Jonassen refers to this change in his article "Learning Strategies: a new educational technology".

> "The goal of new technologies, such as learning strategies, is to promote independent, self-motivated learners who are capable of initiating, selecting and using appropriate strategies for acquiring, retaining and using knowledge. That, I contend is a more productive and constructive instructional goal than the transmission of content or the control of behaviour." [Jonassen, 1985]

Studies show that interactive computer involvement enhances students motivation; encourages stimulating reflection through group dynamics; provides catalysts for teamwork and focuses faculty attention on the process of learning. Computers used effectively have provided significant enhancement of calculus, deeper experience with it, a richer understanding of its ideas and methods and an increased capacity to apply it effectively. By providing the student with the opportunity to visualize the concepts and to participate in mathematical discovery, logical thought patterns are designed and utilized. This anchored instruction approach is intended to overcome the "inert knowledge" problem concerned with the activation of prior knowledge, recall and transfer issues.

There is evidence to show that students *learn* mathematics well only when they construct their own mathematical understanding. To understand what they learn, they must enact for themselves verbs that permeate the mathematics curriculum. This happens most readily when students work in groups, engage in discussion, make presentations and logical conclusions. They impose their own interpretation on what is presented to create theories that make sense to them. This holistic approach to calculus was very difficult before the introduction of interactive software and graphing calculators. No longer are students merely learning a subset of what they have been shown. Instead, they are using new information to modify their prior beliefs. This hierarchy of understanding through processes of assimilation and accommodation with prior belief is the basis of contemporary cognitive science.

No teaching can be effective if it does not respond to student's prior ideas. Seymour Papert, author of Mindstorms, Children, Computers and Powerful Ideas, refers to this concept as constructing and reconstructing information which is the very basis for introducing interactive computer labs especially at the college and university levels. Papert also states that children become more active and self-directed learners through interaction with the computer. Teachers need to resist the temptation to control the classroom ideas so that students can gain a sense of ownership over what they learn. Doing this requires genuine give and take in the classroom, both among students and between students and teachers. Technology helps create this environment--an environment for learning mathematics that provides generous room for trial and error.

The best way to develop effective logical thinking is to encourage open discussion and honest criticism of ideas. It is not the memorization of skills that is important but the confidence that one knows how to find and use the tools whenever they become necessary. This is particularly important in today's technologically based world. There is no way to build this confidence except through the process of creating, constructing and discovering. Technology alone will not change learning. It is the process and not the content that needs to be examined. Educators' roles must include those of consultant, moderator, and interlocutor. Classroom activities must encourage students to express their approaches, both orally and in writing. They must learn to work cooperatively in small teams to solve problems as well as to argue convincingly for their approach amid conflicting ideas and strategies.

Innovative instruction based on a new symbiosis of machine calculation and animation, and human thinking can shift the balance of learning toward understanding, insight and intuition. "It is also of interest that the software and technology appear to function as motivators and that, although learning to use them may be the platform for applying thinking and problem solving skills, the software and technology themselves do not deliver the instructional strategy." [Herman, 1994] Mathematics should be presented in the context of its uses, now possible with the wide range of interactive software, emphasizing the appreciation of mathematics as a deductive logical system. High powered math software and graphing calculators have freed up valuable time that was previously used in 'number crunching'; allowing educators to concentrate on applied problems and higher-order thinking skill development.

"An important index of transfer is the degree to which one set of experiences helps one learn to adapt to new settings...The ability to learn efficiently is different from the ability to solve a new set of problems without any opportunity to learn." [Vanderbilt, 1993] Computers and the influx of interactive software offer the greatest potential for facilitating and enhancing the development of these skills to ensure their automatic transfer to other areas. "Increasing pressure has been placed on education to develop the learners' capacity to adapt to change using decision making, problem solving and other higher order thinking skills which will enable them to think for themselves and to solve novel problems. The curriculum needs to emphasis on process and collaboration not on content." [Sherwood, 1990].

Importance of Gender Equity in Mathematics Education

"Math is hard."

-- Teen Talk Barbie™

No where is the cost of sex bias, sex role stereotyping and sex discrimination more compelling, concrete or clear than in the area of occupational aspiration, vocational education and the resulting employment, economic self-sufficiency and job satisfaction of females and males. Community colleges still heavily reinforce traditional sex role stereotypes in course offerings, curriculum materials, teaching methods, counseling and guidance programmes which reflect and perpetuate outdated, limited occupational and family roles for both females and males. Frequently traditional attitudes about the 'proper' role and abilities of females contribute to a hostile learning environment for females who have made nontraditional vocational choices. In an article in the Toronto Star, August 2, 1992 entitled "The Gender Factor: Why do women still shun math in this high-tech age?" the reporter interviewed students, professors, teachers and researchers concluding that the problems are social nor mental. However, some of the quotes reinforce studies done over the past twenty years.

> "In more than 1,000 interviews, the York professor [Dr. Mandell] heard teachers say things such as "math confused girls." Female students complained they were subjected to sexist remarks by teachers and were asked less often than boys to work at the blackboard in front of the class. "Girls were pushed out of the math stream. But it's a pattern that begins right in primary school," says Mandell. "By Grade 9, the girls are positively math phobic."" [Crawford, 1992]

Research over the past twenty five years have documented many reasons why women do not pursue math and science based careers. Although through some interventions and the rapid change in society there has been a significant increase in the numbers of females in engineering at the university level. However this trend has not been true at the college level. Although the reasons for the under representation of women in these fields are complex and perhaps not fully understood, many experts agree that the stereotyping of math, science and technology as a 'male domain' is a contributing factor. "The sex-typing of mathematics as a male domain leads to different expectations for boys and girls with respect to success in mathematics classes." [Fox, 1977] This stereotype, in turn, leads to the systematic exclusion of women from informal and formal educational activities that foster technological literacy.

The stereotype of math, science, and technology being 'male' subjects takes root during early childhood when boys are encouraged far more than girls by adults to play with toys that involve or simulate tools and machinery. Children see men much more often than women performing tasks that involve complex tools and machinery. It is no wonder that researchers have found that the physical sciences are sex-typed as 'male' subjects by students as early as the second grade. Preschool and elementary classrooms do little to reverse this trend. In fact, technology education is systematically neglected at the preschool and elementary school levels. "Yet many features of the elementary school, including its curriculum, its organizational structure, and its classroom interactions create and maintain a norm of male preeminence." [Lockheed, 1984]

Exclusion is also evident when one looks at female enrollment patterns in higher level math and science courses in high school. Even when girls complete high school with a strong background in math and science, they are less apt to turn their expertise into advanced college diplomas or employment in these fields. Although these patterns can be attributed to a host of factors, one can argue that the stereotype of math, science and technology as a whole 'male domain', in its institutionalized form, has contributed significantly to the decisions by females to exclude themselves from participation in these subjects and ultimately in related careers.

Conclusions

There is a misconception throughout the educational community that gender equity is a pursuit which falls outside the current movement for **excellence in education.**

Programmes designed to achieve sex equity in education actually open up opportunities for all students, regardless of gender, race, or physical abilities! As a result of examining the issues relevant to the recruitment and retention of nontraditional students, all recruitment efforts and all interactions with students may help to discover new and innovative strategies to achieve educational excellence.

However, recognizing and counteracting sex-biased behaviour is a complex task that requires time, energy and commitment . Without an adequate educational response, women will continue to be underrepresented in the pool of workers who are technologically literate. Since it is clear that proficiency in the use of technology expands the career and life options of young people, as well as increases their higher order thinking skills, it is imperative that educators address the root causes of this disparity. Technology, the engine for change, is an essential part of our future, but technology alone will not educate us. You could use state of the art technology on the desk of each student in the classroom, but without the vision of an inspired educator, nothing of value would happen. In "Jurassic Park", hyper technology and dinosaurs created a horror. The same chaos will prevail in our educational system unless educators ensure that technology is used effectively and with equity.

References

Crawford, T. (1992, Sunday, August 2, 1992.). The Gender Factor: Why do women still shun math in this high-tech age? *The Toronto Star*, p. B1 B7.

Flake, J., Preparing Teachers to Integrate Computers into Mathematics Instruction, *Journal of Computers and Science Teaching*, Vol 9(4) p.9-16.

Fox, L. (1977). The effects of Sex Role Socialization on Mathematics Participation and Achievement, (No. 8). National Institute of Education.

Gardner, H. (1983). *Frames of Mind*. New York: Basic Books, Inc.

Haraway, D. (1985). A Manifesto for Cyborgs: Science, Technology and Socialist Feminism in the 1980's. *Socialist Review*, 80, 101.

Herman, J. (1994). Evaluating the Effects of Technology in School Reform. In B. Means (Eds.), *Technology and Education Reform* (pp. 133-167). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Kulik, C. & Kulik, J. (1985) Effectiveness of computer-based education in colleges. *AEDS Journal*, pp. 16-21.

Lockheed, M. (1984). Sex Segregation and Male Preeminence in Elementary Classrooms. In E. &. A. Fennema J. (Eds.), *Women and Education Equity or Equality?* (pp. 117-135). Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation.

Papert, S. (1980). *Mindstorms, Children, Computers and Powerful Ideas*. Boston: MIT Press.

Sherwood, C. (1990). Computers and higher order thinking skills. In *Computers in Education* Amsterdam: Elsevier Science Publishers.

Streibel, M. (1993). Queries about Computer Education and Situated Critical Pedagogy. *Educational Technology*, 33(3), 22-26.

Vanderbilt, C. G. a. (1993). Anchored instruction and situated cognition revisited. *Educational Technology*, 33(3), 52-70.

Sarah Inkpen

School of Aviation and Flight Technology,
Seneca College of Applied Arts and Technology,
1750 Finch Avenue East,
North York, Ontario M2J 2X5

Phone: (416) 463-7965
FAX: (416) 778-5198

email: sinkpen@oise.on.ca
http://www.oise.on.ca/~sinkpen/SARAH.html

"Female-Friendly" Science, Math and Technology Activities Recommended to Pre-Service Teachers: An Analysis of Teacher Education Textbooks

Introduction

Many have highlighted the increasing need for people working in science, math and technology in the 1990's (see Fawcett, 1991; Nulty, 1989). It is recommended that women and minorities are two groups from which more scientists can be drawn to meet this need (Campbell, 1986; Fawcett, 1991; Nulty, 1989). However, women and minorities continue to be under-represented in related fields (Bianchini, 1993; Fawcett, 1991), and much research has been dedicated to exploring contributing factors.

Many have attempted to identify factors which have contributed to the under-representation of females in science, math and technology. Generally, three clusters of factors have been discussed in the literature. These include personal factors such as visual spatialization, biological predisposition and personality, social factors such as role models and sex role stereotyping, and educational factors such as parent/teacher expectations, as well as classroom and extracurricular activities (Fawcett, 1991; Skolnick, Langbort & Day, 1982). The present research focussed on one educational factor that influences girls' successful participation in science, math and technology.

One key factor in explaining why females have avoided science, math and technology is the lack of practical experiences with related apparatus and skills (Kahle & Lakes, 1985; Skolnick, Langbort & Day, 1982). Many, have therefore recommended that increasing the number of science and mathematics activities that provide hands-on practice and exposure with science and mathematics, will help to motivate females and build the skills necessary for later successful participation in the field (Potter & Rosser, 1990, 1992; Rosser, 1990).

Science teaching methods and curriculum content can be influenced by textbooks (Bazler & Simonis, 1990; Rosser, 1990). Therefore, textbooks used by pre-service teachers can influence their classroom teaching practices. If the recommended classroom activities are not attractive to female students or do not provide ample practice with apparatus and skills, the teacher's choice of activities may continue to perpetuate the cycle of discouraging female students from becoming interested in science, math and technology. However, the cycle may be broken if classroom science and mathematics activities are 'female-friendly.'

The present study examined the extent to which the suggested classroom activities found in the seven recommended and required textbooks for the Bachelor of Science/Bachelor of Education program at one Southern Ontario University, featured 'female-friendly' science, math and technology activities.

Methodology

Potter and Rosser (1990, 1992) designed a coding system that accurately defined aspects of classroom activities as important in encouraging rather than deterring girls' participation in science, math and technology. Each activity was coded for the presence of four skills that develop related cognitive skills and seven motivating elements that encourage participation in science, math and technology by increasing self-confidence and stimulating interest (see table 1 and table 2).

For the present study, 203 activities were randomly selected from five math teacher-education texts and two non-math texts (see table 3). The texts varied in the number and kinds of activities, with texts one and seven having 22 and 18 activities respectively. All activities from these texts were used and approximately 30 from each of the remaining texts were randomly selected.

Each piece of writing was examined by three raters: the course instructor, a student-teacher and the researcher. All raters analyzed the texts using the coding system adapted by the researcher to evaluate the level of inclusion of skills and motivating elements outlined in the literature on "female-friendly" science, math and technology. The definitions were intended to obtain an objective description of the extent to which the selected sample of activities were "female-friendly" and not the perceptions of the raters who used the tool. Methodologically, the use of multiple raters strengthened the reliability and reduced the bias in the results.

Findings

Skill Elements

Overall, "Female-Friendly" science, math and technology skills were featured in sampled classroom activities at a moderate level. Table 1 outlines the percentage of activities in the total sample of 203 activities which included numerical, logical, spatial and investigative skills. Numerical skills were observed by raters with the greatest frequency at 61% compared to investigative skills which were identified in only 27% of classroom activities drawn from the seven science, math and technology teacher-education texts.

A comparison of math and non-math texts reveals that the math texts contained a higher percentage of numerical, spatial and logical skills than the non-math texts which included a higher proportion of investigative skills (see Table 1).

Motivational Elements

Seven motivational elements were identified by Potter and Rosser (1990, 1992) as encouraging rather than discouraging young women to

Table 1

Percentage of Sample Science, Math and Technology Activities Containing Identified Skill Elements

Skill Element	Definition[a]	% of Activities[b]		
		Math	Non-Math	Total
Numerical	Measuring, understanding numbers, problem solving with numbers	74%	19%	61%
Logical	Logical reasoning (sorting and classifying, deductive reasoning, controlling variables, probabilistic reasoning)	55%	44%	53%
Spatial	Spatial visualization, drawing, creating a diagram, graphing, using charts and tables	50%	10%	41%
Investigative	Independent investigation (observing, formulating questions and hypotheses, design experiments/activities, collect and analyze data, draw conclusions and communicate results: includes reasoning skills but requires more; intellectual effort rather than being algorithmic)	17%	38%	27%

[a] Adapted from Potter and Rosser (1990, 1992)

[b] The skill element was observed in this percentage of examined junior/intermediate classroom activities.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Table 2

Percentage of Sampled Science, Math and Technology Activities Containing Identified Motivational Elements

Motivational element	Definition[a]	% of Activities[b]		
		Math	Non-Math	Total
Manipulatives	Uses manipulatives related to science, math or technology (including calculators and computers)	37%	85%	49%
More than one approach	Different problem-solving behaviours are rewarded, exploration is encouraged; chance for individual ingenuity and effort, rather than list of procedures to be followed; distinguishes genuine investigation from highly directed laboratory tasks	44%	44%	44%
More than one answer	Any part of activity that has more than one right answer, due not just to variability of measurement; different thinking may happen or be seen	24%	35%	27%
Presentation of evidence	Uses "mystery" approach in which evidence for which students must provide explanation is presented, in contrast to linear step-by-step logical exposition or explaining outcomes and causes prior to activity	13%	2%	10%
Uses own experience	Elicits own prior experience (reflection on past lessons or experiences)	6%	25%	10%
Hypothesize first	Instructions to hypothesize regarding outcome prior to activity (including estimation, prediction, guessing)	9%	13%	10%
Girl-relevant content	Related to interests identified as content "feminine" such as bacteriology, food, gardening, nutrition, nurturant nature study such as impacts of environments, reproduction, human body and social issues	1%	27%	7%

[a] Adapted from Potter and Rosser (1990, 1992)

[b] The skill element was observed in this percentage of examined junior/intermediate classroom activities.

Table 3

Selected Teacher Education Textbooks

Text Number	Textbook
Text 1	National Council of Teachers of Mathematics. (1995). *Assessment Standards for School Mathematics*. Reston, VA:NCTM.
Text 2	National Council of Teachers of Mathematics. (1991). *Professional Standards for Teaching Mathematics*. Reston, VA:NCTM.
Text 3	National Council of Teacher of Mathematics. (1989). *Curriculum and Evaluation Standards for School Mathematics*. Reston, VA:NCTM.
Text 4	Post, T. R. (ed.). (1992). *Teaching Mathematics in Grades K-8:Research Based Methods.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
Text 5	Cathcart, W. G., Pothier, Y. M. & Vance, J. H. (1994). *Learning Maths in Elementary and Middle Schools*. Scarborough, Canada: Allyn and Bacon.
Text 6	Bosak, S. V. (1991). *Science Is....* Richmond Hill, Canada: Scholastic Canada Ltd.
Text 7	Owen, T., Owsten R. & Dickie, C. (1995). *The Learning Highway: A Student's Guide to Using the Internet in High School and College*. Toronto: Key Porter Books.

participate in science, math and technology activities, thereby providing early experiences that can lead to greater confidence and interest in these fields. "Female-friendly" motivational elements are defined in table 2.

Overall, "female-friendly" motivational elements appeared in a lower proportion of sampled classroom science, math and technology activities than the identified skill elements previously discussed. As can be seen in table 2, all motivational elements were featured in less than 50% of sampled activities. The use of manipulatives appeared in the greatest proportion of activities at 49%, with activities that allowed for more than one approach and more than one answer appearing in 44% and 27% of the sample respectively. The remaining four elements; presentation of evidence, use of prior personal experience, instructions to hypothesize and girl-relevant content, were included in 10% or less of the activity sample.

Also outlined in table 2, non-math texts included a higher proportion of motivational elements, with higher percentages reported by raters for the use of manipulatives, more than one answer, use of prior personal experience, instructions to hypothesize and girl-relevant content. Math teacher-education texts contained a higher proportion of activities presenting evidence and both sets of texts contained the same percentage of activities allowing for more than one answer.

Discussion

Overall, analysis of sampled activities from seven teacher education textbooks, featured a low to moderate level of "female-friendly" skills and motivational elements. The math texts contained a higher proportion of skill elements than the non-math texts. Additionally a lower percentage of math activities involved investigative skills, allowed for more than one correct answer or permitted more than one approach. This suggests that, at the junior/intermediate level, math continues to be a subject area that focusses primarily on algorithmic skills and objective explanations.

In contrast, non-math texts contained activities that were more likely to connect students to the experience by using related manipulatives, reflecting on and using personal prior experience and encouraging the acceptance of more than one correct answer. The science and technology texts presented numerous opportunities for creative problem solving and subjective explanations.

Conclusion

As can be seen, if activities from the seven teacher education textbooks examined for this study are implemented in a junior/intermediate classroom, the opportunities for girls to experience 'female-friendly' science, math or technology would are somewhat limited. However, all teachers have the power and the control to make alterations to classroom experiences described in textbooks and other curriculum guides. By making informed instructional choices, teachers can ensure that the needs of all students are met. By raising awareness of the long lasting effects a lack of early experience with 'female-friendly' science, math and technology activities can have on self-confidence and cognitive skill development, and by providing specific guidelines to assist teachers in making changes to classroom activities, perhaps the image our children hold of tomorrow's scientist, mathematician and computer programmer and be changed today.

References

Bazler, J. A. & Simonis, D. A. (1990). Are women out of the picture? Sex discrimination in science texts. *The Science Teacher*, December, 24-26.

Bianchini, J. (1993). *The Highschool Biology Textbook: A Changing Mosaic of Gender, Science and Purpose*. (Report No. SE 053 840). (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 363 513)

Campbell, P. B. (1986). What's a nice girl like you doing in a math class? *Phi Delta Kappan*, March 1986. 516-520.

Fawcett, R. (1991). *Science Education in Canada*. Library of Parliament, Science and Technology Department. (BP-265E).

Kahle, J. B. & Lakes, M. K. (1983). The myth of equality in science classrooms. *Journal of Research in Science Teaching, 20*(2), 131-140.

Nulty, P. (1989). The hot demand for new scientists. *Fortune*, July 31, 1989

Potter, E. F. & Rosser, S. V. (1990). Sexism in textbooks: New subtleties replace overt stereotypes. In Rosser, S. V. *Female-Friendly Science: Applying Women's Studies Methods and Theories to Attract Students*. (pp. 73-91). Pergamon Press, Toronto.

Potter, E. F. & Rosser, S. V. (1992). Factors in life science textbooks that may deter girls' interest in science. *Journal of Research in Science Teaching, 29*(7), 669-686.

Rosser, S. V. (1990). *Female-Friendly Science: Applying Women's Studies Methods and Theories to Attract Students*. Pergamon Press, Toronto.

Skolnick, J., Langbort, C., & Day, L. (1982). *How to Encourage Girls in Math and Science: Strategies for Parents and Educators*. Prentice-hall.

Sheryl Johnston
Brock University
St. Catharines, ON
L2S 3A1
(905) 688-5550 ext. 3340

Red Wheelbarrow Vision, Purposeful Poetic Pedagogy and the Echoes in the Halls of Student Minds - Women' s Literature and Feminist Teaching

by Erin Ortwein (O.I.S.E.)

Thoughts on Re-angling the Lens

The Red Wheelbarrow

So much depends
upon

a red wheel
barrow

glazed with rain
water

beside the white
chickens.

- William Carlos Williams

Williams' powerful imagist poem, though hardly a feminist piece, suggests that ***so*** much depends upon awareness of surroundings in understanding experience. Further, this painter-like presentation tells of the richness that comes from the precision of vision; all the pieces of the image have impact here. " The Red Wheelbarrow" relays a sense of need to see the whole picture and reminds the reader of the greater meaning that comes from viewing the relationship and interplay existing between these pieces. Williams' work aptly elucidates the strength and significance of seeing images in their totality, and though sparse in its language, connotes a sense of depth of personal and immediate response by the viewer.

In many ways, this short poem captures the kind of vision that feminist teachers have of learning in their classrooms - the kind of lens that they hope their students will use to see the world as they come to look more critically and more beautifully at all that constitutes the human canvas. "The Red Wheelbarrow" captures the essence of feminist pedagogy - practices that promote big-picture inclusion, that validate personal response and that acknowledge contextual meaning in the name of a richer understanding. It is the naming and the describing of all the parts of the image that give these objects and their associations and sensations validity. Similarly, feminists want to engage in such naming and such description for those whose voices and whose beings have been omitted from the picture; they believe that understanding is heightened from such a vantage point and that all gain from seeing the bigger picture. Moreover, they see schools as laboratories for promoting such understanding. Feminist teachers strive for a critical pedagogy of inclusion both in materials and in ways of understanding in the name of catching a more holistic and "critical thinking " view of the diversity of human experience. Analogous to poetry that attempts to capture human experience from a different angle and hopes to bring it alive through the power of diction, feminist pedagogy promotes a re-angling of the lens in the name of developing a critical mind. Though critics might suggest that important curriculum is lost to social agendas, feminists argue that the curriculum is one of limited scope without a critical pedagogy. A "poetic pedagogy" that promotes a "red wheelbarrow point of view " through valuing thought, emotion and difference can create more holistic critical thinkers and kinder, more socially responsible citizens. The findings of the study at hand tell us that our students can benefit from our attempts.

The Purpose

This paper is an examination of feminist pedagogy, its vision, its understanding of critical thinking and the outcomes of its practice from the learner's perceptive. Through a review of the literature in these areas as well as a qualitative analysis of data collected from 21 OAC English students taking the only Women's Literature course offered in one Ontario high school, this study hopes to shed light on students' perception of their own learning in a classroom that practises a feminist perspective both in the materials it focuses on and in the teaching practices it employs. In other words, the paper hopes to gain insight into students' learning experience with a feminist teacher who advocates a critical pedagogy. The researcher wanted to see if the practices that she values as a feminist teacher assist students in their learning; more importantly, she wanted to understand that learning from the students' eyes.

The focus of the paper grew out of the researcher's interest in feminist teaching practice, her experience as an English teacher in a school that gave little attention to the writings of women or feminist practices and out of her concern for the improvement of student learning, particularly the learning of female students. As well, the researcher was concerned about the limited notion of critical thinking advocated within schools, a critical thinking that devalues emotion and personal response and promotes objective, rational thought. More than anything, this was a chance to see, from a student perspective, the impact of feminist practice in a newly established OAC Women's Literature course.

The research questions that form the basis of the study are as follows:

1. Do students in this OAC Women's Literature course feel that their thinking has been affected by their participation in this course and if so, how?
2. Do students see the course as being taught differently, and if so in what ways? What is their reaction to such teaching?
3. Do students see Women's Literature courses as important in schools? If so, why?

These focus questions guided the study with the aim of gaining insight into student learning in a classroom that emphasizes feminist teaching methods.

Literature Review - Critical Thinking, Feminist Pedagogy, and the English Classroom

Critical Thinking

> Responsibility to yourself means refusing to let others
> do your thinking, talking, and naming for you; it means
> learning to respect and use your own brains and instincts;
> hence, grappling with hard work (Rich, 1979, p.233).

To say that critical thinking is a goal of education is somewhat obvious; most educators would agree that it is a primary aim of the educational system. Problematic, however, is the definition attributed to the term "critical thinking"; clearly, its meaning has implications for teaching practice and for student learning. Apparent within much of the literature on critical thinking are two paradigms - one of doubting , one of believing (Thayer- Bacon, 1993). Within this literature is the notion that these definitions contradict one another.

Historically, schools have operated on a paradigm of critical thinking that uses logic, objectivity and the separation of facts and opinions - a concept that can be traced back to the Greeks. The critical thinker in this paradigm tries to remove his/her voice/perspective from the inquiry process and remain unbiased and objective as he/she works to systematically doubt what others believe. Such thinking protects the "reasoner from false beliefs, indoctrination or just taking things on faith, i.e. believing" (Thayer-Bacon, 1992, p.3). Martin, in her challenge of Peter's (1972) concept of the ideal educated person, argues that such practices upheld in our institutions, suggest an educated person as one initiated in male cognitive perspectives. Further, Martin asserts that emotion, intution and imagination have little place in this ideal and contends that everyone suffers when the ideal upheld does not include the reproductive processes of society. Central works in the area of critical thinking reflect such perspectives and focus on rationality (Ennis, 1987, Siegel, 1988). These Western notions of critical thinking are grounded largely in

Aristotelian logic . Within this literature is a perception that logic is polemic to emotion. Interestingly enough, Aristotle did acknowledge the role of emotion as persuasive in any endeavour. Traditional critical thinking models, however, have failed to acknowledge this original premise.

Feminists challenge this male defined construction of critical thinking to suggest that such a paradigm denies personal voice and subjectivity - concepts valued in feminist ways of knowing (Martin, 1994, Belenky, 1986, Gilligan,1982). Belenky (1986) challenges the traditional model suggesting that women think differently and thus cannot measure up in this male model; she argues for the acknowledgment of emotion as a valid way of knowing and calls for a rethinking of the construct of critical thinking as we know it:

> Relatively little attention has been given to the four modes of learning, knowing and valuing that may be specific to or at least common in women. It is likely that the commonly accepted stereotype of women's thinking as emotional, intuitive and personalized has contributed to the devaluation of women's minds and contributions, particularly in Western technologically oriented cultures which value rationalism and objectivity. It is generally accepted that intuitive knowledge is more primitive, therefore less valuable, than so-called objective modes of knowing. Thus, it appeared likely to us that traditional educational curricula and pedagogical standards have probably not escaped this bias. (Belenky, 1986)

As Cashion and Dimare (1987) point out, Western society tends to see emotion as an obstacle to critical thinking. They posit that women have been stereotyped as being more emotional than men and submit that this is often taken to mean that women are inherently less able to think than men. Cashion and Dimare(1987), like Thayer-Bacon (1993), suggest that the construct of critical thinking thus needs to be rethought to restore emotion to its rightful spot in critical thinking models. Thayer-Bacon contends that educators need to embrace a new model for knowledge and a new understanding of critical thinking as "constructive thinking". The critical reasoning model should come closer to the one that Aristotle originally envisioned.

To suggest that these dual notions of critical thinking are mutually exclusive constructs is problematic. Both are of value. Feminists who negate the traditional paradigm do themselves a disservice; the rigor of rational argument skill is devalued. Yet, without a broader definition and a reexamination of the term *critical thinking*, subjectivity, voice and personal experience are omitted as real thinking. If we hope to create a society of strong critical thinkers, then schools have to know what they are targeting. The movement toward a relational epistemology has significant impact on how we know, how we critique and how we teach. It is the reconciliation of personal and expert, thought and feeling, subjectivity and objectivity in the name of triangulating thought and therefore learning and teaching that is an important oversight in a system that often works to limit, stifle and devalue difference. Our definition of critical thinking thus needs expansion to assist a higher level of critical thinking which leads to an operationalized critical pedagogy that purposefully targets its goals.

Feminist Pedagogy

> Only beings that can reflect upon the fact that they are determined
> are capable of freeing themselves.
> - Paulo Freire

The definition of critical thinking that is upheld in schools is important, for it suggests how teachers come to practise their craft and how learners come to understand. Grounded in inclusion and social justice, feminist pedagogy is about reaching toward a more just society than the one we live in now, through a curriculum that is inclusive in its materials and in its teaching practices.

Emily Style (1988) states that education is both a mirror and a window. As a mirror, it helps women identify themselves and, as a window, it provides a broader vision. Characterized by an emphasis on personal experience as a legitimate way of knowing and calling for practices that give voice to students as they try to link personal and theoretical knowledge, feminist teaching is committed to opening the window and broadening the vision in the name of social equality. The roots of this pedagogical stance are grounded in democratic principles and in the acknowledgement of difference as supported by the work of Carol Gilligan (1982), who argues that women and men differ and that they are predisposed to connectedness and abstraction respectively.

Dyro's (1987) work tells of the value of subjective, emotional and intuitive response in aiding understanding. While critics contend that such practices promote a curriculum reduced to emotional response, Dyro suggests that differing perceptions and conceptions of reality create different and valid ways of seeing the world (Patai & Koertge, 1994). Thought is triangulated and understanding is heightened in the name of learning liberation (Briskin, 1991). The "connected teaching" practices advocated in *Women's Ways of Knowing* lend support for student centred learning, reader response appoaches and a curriculum that starts where the students are in the name of developing personal agency within them.

The English Classroom

> Fiction, under our androcentric culture, has not given any true picture of woman's life, very little of human life, and a disproportioned section of man's life. (Gilman,1970, p.22)

The study of literature in secondary education has frequently given little voice to women writers and women's ways of knowing the world. In a feminist classroom, like the kind advocated by Whaley and Dodge (1993) in their work, *Weaving in the Women : Transforming the High School Curriculum*, student response to the text is validated and teacher interpretation is minimized. The premise of this practice is that students will take themselves as learners more seriously. Relating literature to personal experience is valued and teachers become facilitators - they become part of the group and they value discussion and personal reflection. Underlying the work are the following three assumptions pointed out by Dyro (1987) in "Teachers and Social Change".

> 1. Knowledge is of many kinds and is many sided. Reality is not limited to the dominant culture's perception and each individual brings his/her own experience to the text and this is valued, and though clearly some responses will indeed be more compelling, there is no single truth. The focus is on "how" students arrive at their interpretations.
> 2. Total objectivity is false and unattainable. Since all experiences inform our attitudes and conclusions and since all experiences differ, we must value all views. Why pretend to be objective? Why not acknowledge those forces which curve and wrinkle our thinking?
> 3. Differing perceptions and conceptions of reality create differing and valid ways of seeing the world. Differing readings expand the work of literature. (Dyro, 1987)

Similarly, Belenky's notions of the differences that guide the student centred curriculum are at the root of practices advocated by Whaley and Dodge. Belenky (1986) points out that there are four differences between student and teacher centred classrooms. In student centred classes teachers play the "believing game" and they validate their ideas. Second, collaborative learning is advocated and third, student learning is evaluated through student input rather than through teacher criteria. Lastly, Belenky suggests teachers in student centred classrooms welcome diversity with the aim of expanding knowledge. In such classrooms, teachers are facilitators:

> As students become aware of what they need to know, teachers become resources and facilitators. As students start writing about what is important to them, they

> become more effective writers. As students confront differing and often conflicting conclusions, they become more critical thinkers, more aware of the politics of negation, more sensitive to the legitimacy of opposing points of view. (p.35)

Because *Weaving in the Women* was cited as the text that drove the course and influenced the teacher's practice, this model of classroom practice will be studied. Many of the book's reading selections and assignments were used and its pedagogical stance was consciously modeled by the teacher. The teacher acknowledges herself as feminist teacher.

The Sample, the Data Collection

So then, what happens in a classroom where the feminist practice of student centred learning is advocated through the validation of personal experience, through collaborative learning, through student input into evaluation and through the conscious welcoming of diverse perspectives? What happens when a curriculum like that found in *Weaving in the Women* is used in an OAC Women's Literature course in an Ontario high school ? Do the students note the difference in approach and how do they see that it has affected their own learning and thinking? These are the essential research questions that began the study. The 21 students - 20 female, 1 male - that formed the sample for this research were asked to respond in writing, authentically with anonymity, to a series of guided questions. A regularly scheduled class period was used to conduct the research on a day when the classroom teacher was absent. A flexible timeline of 35 minutes was given and students were assured that none of their comments would be shown to their teacher until the end of the course.

Data analysis began, as in most qualitative studies, after the data was reviewed, sorted, noted and thought about (Bilken & Bogdan, 1992). The researcher looked for emerging themes and patterns in the responses and chose to support these categorizations with anecdotal comments. Not all questions on the sheet were used in the analysis because of the limited nature of the study at hand. An assumption made in this study was that the individuals wrote what they thought, not what they thought was appropriate. The research was also limited by not studying those who had dropped out of the course.

Findings

It should be noted that the participants wrote very detailed responses that often took them to the backs of pages for completion of their thoughts. In response to question 1, the following patterns and themes emerged. All but 4 of the 21 participants in the study felt that the course had either changed or reinforced their thinking. In fact, some that began their response with the word "no" ended up contradicting themselves by the end of their response. An example of this can be found in the following response:

> No, ...but rather my OAC [year] as a whole. I've found that there is a much greater perspective that must be taken into account, not a male or female perspective that takes into account the great many ideas and values which have shaped the world. This I can't say has come soley from this course, but it has something to do with it.(R21)

The second discernable category of response were those who stated that the course reaffirmed what they already believed. Again, embedded within these responses was an awareness of the learning that had occurred:

> The course hasn't done much else but reaffirm to me that women are not equal in society , no matter what claims have been made regarding this issue...The big thing is I can identify the female psyche (obviously !) and I am aware of the factors that are and will affect me - now I can go out and try to change them. (R16)

> I don't think that it has changed my thinking perse, but I think that I am more aware now than I was. I was something of a feminist before I came to this class, so *that* really hasn't changed. However, through examining the lives of woman authors I think I have been enlightened to " the other side of the coin" and it is indeed *very* rewarding ! It is also really

> neat because sometimes in class we read something female-oriented and after reading it I think " Hey, that's how I feel! I thought I was the only one that felt like that." (R14)

Many students felt that the course changed their thinking in a positive manner.

> Yes, this course has most definitly changed my thinking because before I took the course if someone asked me, " Are you a feminist ?, I would have seriously objected and been offended by this question because I was misinformed as to what made a feminist and who they were. Now, if asked this question I would most certainly answer yes, and proudly, because I now know the wide ranging and true meaning of the word.(R17)

> ...it has made me realize how smart and equal women are to men in literature. It has amazed me to find out about these women's lives. I thought reading women author books would be boring and dull, all about love and romance. But I've found that a lot of authors write about their lives and experiences. Like Charlet Bronte. It makes a book interesting when you know that there is a little bit of that person inside every page.(R12)

One student makes an interesting observation about the change in her own thinking:

> At first, I totally hated this class. I felt it was total male bashing and I wasn't used to that. But upon speaking to the teacher, I found out that it wasn't all just male bashing . I don't want to be a mass feminist but at the same time I realize that it is necessary, important and beneficial for women's literature to be examined, read and appreciated.(R13)

Students wrote very detailed responses about the changes in their thinking.

The second question concerned the teaching practices that were used and whether or not the students saw them as different from the strategies that were used in other English classes. For most students in the class, this was their fifth high school English credit so they were very familiar with the school's English program. Responses to this question were categorized by *no* and *yes* and then into themes of difference as the students noted.

Only 3 students felt that this course was taught the way that other English courses were. Three in the study said that it was basically the same but "the focus on characters" and the attention to "the author's life" (R21, R8) while one of the three noted the media days as distinct. These were cited as differences even though these students thought that it was very similar to other English courses in the school.

Most students(15) saw this course as distinctly different and particular themes within this difference rang loud and clear in participant responses. The emphasis on discussion - a "strong point of the course" (R20) - and the comfort level for such discussion seemed to be two themes that were webbed together in most of the responses:

> I feel that we can speak more freely about different things that we would usually not talk about in the presence of men. ... because of the relaxed environment...we can talk freely as a large group and as small groups..(R7)

> ...the free discussion made you feel more comfortable when interacting with other classmates and the teacher. It did not seem as structured and that made it more interesting. I think that it provided a better learning environment.(R3)

That students attributed their comfort level to the teacher was quite obvious. She was described as "really caring about the students and she helps them out a lot".(R19) Her "excitement for the course" was noted as well as her "openmindedness".(R18) One student said that she found that there was a "connection between Mrs. G. and the students"(R9).

Another described her as one who "listens to our questions and comments and in a good way pushes us to think deeper than the surface."(R11) Comfort within the class was noted by many.(R3,7,15,17)

The emphasis on the personal nature of the course was reflected in the responses as well:

> The course is relatively more open to creativity and personal reflection than a lot of other courses. Everything that is taught is being done in a very unrestrictive manner, leaving time for personal interpretation and further discussion for the topic at hand... [it] can be too unrestrictive and too much time is spent on one or two main issues...(R16)

> ...we had more discussion than usual. Also more personal reflections and opinions have been stressed. We (I) have learned to think better this way. (R5)

Another theme noted within the responses was the emphasis in the course on the "connectedness" between "literature and life" and between the works themselves. This student's response reflects this point:

> Everything we study is somehow connected to each other and we discuss things and analyze everything to an extent that I never have before. The discussion periods are a strong point of this class because it helps everyone to see people's point-of-view and think of things in ways they never would have before. (R20)

The following comment hits at much of what was revealed in the responses:

> This course was most definitely been taught differently than other English courses for many reasons. Firstly, it was more personal. As students we are encouraged to give feedback about the merit of the material being studied as well as the assignments we do. ... it is also taught a little more informally than I am used to which makes me a little more comfortable. I have in the past felt in the other English classes bored with the routine and predictability of the course, while this course has been taught with variety and flexibility.(R17)

All students with the exception of one in the study thought that a course like this was important. That individual felt that the course had fostered "gaps between the sexes". (R21) Many felt such courses were "extremely important". They felt it was important to "expose students to woman writers" and "to deal with women's ideas". These comments tell of their sentiments:

> Yes, I feel courses such as this are very important in secondary schools. The biggest reason for this belief is because I think the courses presently offered are of the ordinary and do not challenge people to think beyond their own, sometimes narrow, field of thought. This course opens up a whole new way of thinking for the students involved. I am also a strong believer that in the more mainstream curriculum English courses female writers and filmmakers are not fairly or equally represented.(R17)

> Young women in secondary schools tend to have low self esteem. They are not proud to be a woman because they have not been taught that they can achieve. Women's lit. gives back that lost sense of pride by focusing on authors and essays about successful women. ...strongly supported women's literature courses could be an answer for reducing teen sex and pregnancy.(R9)

> ...it is beneficial for women to know that women do possess a vast amount of talent. It helped with self-esteem. I can do whatever I want. The possibilities are out there & they're endless.(R13)

One third of the students in the study commented on the need to include more women writers in the English curriculum , some mentioning elementary curriculum, most referring to the other courses taught in the department.

Conclusions

This study of 21 participants in an OAC Women's Literature Course, taught using the work of women writers and the teaching practices advocated by feminists and particularly those found in *Weaving in the Women*, demonstrated that there are many benefits to such a course and such an approach.

It was clear that many students were able to acknowledge a change in their own thinking about women writers and about the role of women in society . They were able to identify the teaching practices that made this course distinct and moreover, they felt that these practices were worthwhile and that they assisted their learning. The students' comments reveal support for the open discussion, personal reflection, and the attempt to connect writing to writer ; the openmindedness and flexibility of the teacher was appreciated by class members. It is fair to say that these students were excited, motivated and positive about their learning in this OAC Women's Literature Course. Their comments suggest the sense of validation that has come from their experience and the personal agency that the course fostered. The findings can only conclude that students enjoyed their participation in the course, that their learning was heightened, that they were challenged to think critically in a comfortable environment. Further, secondary school English curriculum would benefit from such inclusive and critical practice. Most importantly, the findings here are a tribute to the teacher whose wild patience has taken both she and her students this far (Rich, 1979). ***So*** much depends upon her vision, ***so*** much depends upon her craft.

References

Belenky, M. , Clinchy, B., Goldberger, N. and Tarule, J. (1986). ***Women's ways of knowing: The development of self, voice and mind. New York*** : Basic Books

Bilken, S. & Bogdan, R. (1992). ***Qualitative research in education : An introduction to theory and methods*** Boston Allyn & Bacon

Briskin, L. (1991). Feminist pedagogy: Teaching and learning liberation. ***Feminist Perspectives*** Ottawa: Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women.

Cashion, J. & Dimare, L. (1987). ***Integrating feminist theory into the communication curriculum: A focus on critical thinking*** Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association. Boston, MA November 5-7.

Ennis, R. (1987). A taxonomy of critical thinking dispositions and abilities, ***Teaching thinking skills: Theory and practice*** Baron, J & Sternberg, R.,New York Freeman

Freire, P. (1970). ***The pedagogy of the oppressed*** New York: Continuum.

Dyro, (1987). ***Teachers and social change*** Paper presented at Humanities Conference Wellseley Club, Wellesley, MA, November 15.

Martin, J.R. (1994). The ideal of the educated person. In Martin, J.R. (Ed.), ***Changing the educational landscape Philosophy, women and curriculum*** New York: Routledge

Gilligan, C. (1982). ***In a different voice*** Cambridge Harvard

Gilman, C.P. (1976). The yellow wallpaper. In Folsom, M. & Kirschner (Eds.), ***By women : An anthology of literature*** New York: Feminist Press

Patai, D & Koertge, N (1994). ***Professing feminism*** New York: Harper Collins.

Peters, R. (1972). Education and the educated man. In Dearden, P., Hirst, P & Peters, R. (Eds.), ***A critique of current educational aims*** London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Rich, A. (1979). Claiming an Education. ***Lies, secrets and silence: Selected prose***, 1966-1978. New York: Norton

Rich, A. (1981). Integrity. In ***A wild patience has taken me this far*** New York: Norton

Seigel, H. (1988). ***Educating reason*** New York: Routledge

Style, E. & McIntosh, P. (1988). Curriculum as window and mirror. ***Listening for all voices*** Summit NJ

Thayer - Bacon, B. (1992). ***Richard Paul's strong sense critical thinking and procedural thinking: A comparison*** Paper presented at the Annual Educational Research Association. San Fransisco :April 20-24.

Thayer-Bacon, B. (1993). Caring and its relationship to critical thinking. ***Educational Theory,*** v43 n3 p323-40.

Whaley, L. & Dodge, L.(1993). ***Weaving in the Women: Transforming the high school English curriculum*** Portsmouth: Boyton/ Cook

Williams,W. (1987). The Red Wheelbarrow. In G. Kirkland and R. Davies (Eds.), ***Inside Poetry.*** Don Mills: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

Erin Ortwein, Orangeville District S.S., 22 Faulkner St, Orangeville, On L9W 2G7, 519-941-0491, email erotwein@oise.on.ca

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Listening to a Different Voice
Using Women's Stories in the Social Studies

My grandparents recently celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary. They spent a wonderful afternoon surrounded by over two hundred of their family and friends, reminiscing about their years of marriage, their children, and their history. The event was marked by a visit from three men who had been part of a Lancaster crew that included my Grandfather. They had flown together during the Second World War and remained close friends fifty-one years later.

During and after the celebration, my Grandfather was the center of attention. Most often, the stories told were those of the war, stories that focused on the men who flew with my Grandfather. There was little mention of my Grandmother, except to say that my she had been a beautiful bride and was still beautiful to this day. When my Grandfather took the podium, he spoke of my Grandmother and their marriage and then thanked the members of his crew and talked of their history together. At the house afterward, the men gathered to reminisce about their wartime experiences. If my Grandmother shared her stories of the war that afternoon, I did not hear them. More likely, she stood in the background, a supportive and caring figure, in a role that had been well rehearsed over fifty years of marriage.

I have heard my Grandmother's stories of the war, of her childhood in England, of her journey to Canada as a war bride, and of her struggle to make a place for herself on a prairie farm. They are stories that have been told over and over around the kitchen table in my Grandmother's house. But during the celebration of her wedding anniversary, my Grandmother's stories were absent. No one spoke of her hardships during the war, no one mentioned the sacrifices she made in coming to Canada to begin a new life, and no one told of England and the family she had left behind. Instead, all of the attention was focused on my Grandfather. My Grandmother's history seemed all but forgotten, and the silence was deafening to me.

The story of my Grandmother's silence is not unique. It is simply one of many possible stories that illustrate how women's experiences are not considered in the social world outside of the family. It raises the question of where women's stories fit in, and why they have been left out of the dominant discourses of our society for so long. It provides a starting place to examine ways in which women's experiences might be presented alongside men's - to enrich our understanding of the human condition and dispel the myth that men's experience is synonymous with human experience.

The Discourse of the Social Studies: Including Women's Experience

> "...many...young women have been deprived of the knowledge about the individual and collective histories of women, have been denied a knowledge of themselves. They will not leave school with the strength and pride of knowing that women made a difference, that women resisted and struggled, that women were and are more than equally responsible for the survival of the human species" (Coulter, 1989, p. 25).

Women's experiences have been largely excluded from curriculum in the social studies. Although there have been some efforts to change this, little progress has been made. When responding to the question "Where are the women?", curriculum makers have simply added women to the standard story (Baldwin & Baldwin 1992, Briskin & Coulter 1992, Coulter 1989, Noddings 1992). It is not enough to include the names and faces of women in the current curriculum. Rather, we must carefully examine both the form and content of what is taught in the social studies in order to more fully explore the contributions that women have made to social life.

"One of the major contributions of feminist scholarship has been the reclaiming of women's experience" (Briskin & Coulter, 1992, p. 254). Within the social studies, male experience has represented universal human experience, and male values have been held as "the standard of historical experience and excellence in thinking" (McKenna, 1989, p. 24). In order to begin the reclamation of women's experience in the social studies, we must question the dominant discourses that have guided curriculum development and implementation thus far. Coulter asks some important questions in this regard: "Who is controlling the content of history courses and textbooks, and why do they still seem to down-play so consistently women's contributions and struggles? Why do we not have teaching materials that tell the full human story and offer alternative interpretations of the past? (1989, p. 26).

McKenna provides a disturbing look at how students may be influenced by a view of history that focuses almost exclusively on the experience of men. She describes her own post-secondary students' orientation to history as a "world view predicated on certain assumptions about human nature which excuse or justify competition and aggression" (1989, p. 22). McKenna goes on to describe the almost universal viewpoint of her students that war and conflict are natural and inevitable and that peace is idealistic and utopian. McKenna believes that including women's culture in the study of history would "make aggression only one human characteristic rather than the primary one" (p. 22). Baldwin and Baldwin would agree: "Viewed through women's eyes, virtually all historical topics take on a different perspective - a perspective still conspicuously absent from Canadian classroom materials. Both male and female experiences must be included in order to adequately understand human history" (1992, p. 133).

The task seems overwhelming. How can curriculum reform possibly counter decades of social studies teaching that marginalized or ignored the contributions of women? How can we challenge students to recognize and value the experiences of women as equally important to those of men in a society that clearly values the latter over the former? There are no easy answers. But what is perfectly clear is that we must find a place to start.

Seeking Another Voice

I began this piece with a story of my grandmother's silence. It seems appropriate that I continue with my own reclamation of women's experiences by giving voice to her story:

Grandma's Story

I wasn't raised on the prairies as I didn't arrive here until I was 23.

We lived in a one room shack at first. It was very cold in winter with no electricity - no water - no phone and no indoor plumbing. We had to melt snow for water in winter. I had a big copper boiler on the stove and filled it with snow which soon melted down to about one inch of water so it took quite a while to get enough water to do the weekly wash. We had to keep the fire going in the old coal stove and that meant chopping a lot of wood to begin with. The water was then poured into the washing machine (if you were lucky enough to own one). The machine was run by a motor with the exhaust pipe sticking out of the window so we didn't die from the fumes. Afterwards the clothes were hung on the clothes lines outside and would freeze solid. Later on we would bring them in - open the oven door and try to dry the clothes on clothes line in the house. The men's long underwear and jeans were hung on a wooden clothes horse and in the morning everything was dry and the ironing done with what we called a sad iron which was heated on the stove.

Most of the farm wives I knew baked their own bread - made butter and helped with the farm chores like milking cows - feeding chickens and pigs.

We went to town about once a week. The roads were dirt roads and some were just prairie trails. If the weather was bad it took a long time to get those 8 miles to town. Sometimes the roads were blocked with snow drifts and we drove over the top of them slipping and sliding our way into town.

There wasn't much money around in those days but we had food and managed to keep warm. The only money I handled at that time was the cream cheque which we had from selling the cream to the dairy in town. I bought many little extras with this money. Most of the time the men took care of the finances.

Our winter nights were spent knitting - mending and catching up on our reading. This was all done by the light of a kerosene lamp which had to be cleaned each day. What a treat it was when the electricity came to the district.

In summer the weather was hot. We all had big gardens to plant seed, hoe and weed. They were watered from the irrigation ditch. We canned most of the produce in quart sealers which were kept in the cellars under the house.

There was a pump across the yard about a hundred yards away and we carried water to the house in big buckets.

The women did most of the chores in summer when the men were busy in the fields. In harvest time we all helped in the fields and also had extra cooking to do if we had hired help.

Life on the farm wasn't all hard work. There was a baseball diamond at the school and on Sundays everyone would go watch the local team play ball. The children all had a great time and we listened to all the local gossip.

Once a month the women would attend a meeting of the farm women's club. These meetings were held at different houses each month and the hostesses used to try and out do each other with their delicious fattening lunches they served. We used to have baby showers - wedding showers - hold dances. We made quilts and baby clothes for the Unitarian Society - donated money to the Cancer Society - held raffles and card parties - sent children to camp each year. The men were included in this as they sometimes drove their wives to the meeting.

In the 1950's there was a polio epidemic around. There was no vaccine at that time and it was a terrible anxious time if your child had a headache or a sore throat. I used to make my children rest every afternoon in the hot weather so they wouldn't get too tired. Luckily we all escaped this dread disease. Our oldest child was a Polio Pioneer. It was on a volunteer basis and some children received the salk vaccine and others didn't. It all turned out okay and the children were given a button reading 'Polio Pioneer'.

These hardworking farm women I know were really not pioneers like their parents were but I think they were the backbone of the district. A few that I know joined the Southern Alberta writer's workshop and had beautiful stories and poems published in a book called Prairie Patchwork.

My grandmother's words tell a story of life on the Alberta prairies. They represent a history that cannot be read in most social studies textbooks, but rather, may be found in the memories and recollections of women who lived in an earlier time. Hers is not a story that represents all women in all places. It does not pretend to represent all of human experience, or even all of women's experience. Instead, it provides another interpretation of the past, and a starting place for a re-visioning of history.

Using Women's Stories in the Curriculum

It is not enough to understand that women's stories have not been heard. We must find ways to incorporate their voices into the curriculum of our classrooms. To use Coulter's words: "While it may not be simple or easy to transform the curriculum, we must think about ways it can be done if we truly believe that the purpose of education is to empower learners to make considered choices about their personal lives and to encourage students to engage in socially conscious activities with others" (Coulter, 1989, p. 26). To this end, I have outlined one approach to using the stories of women in the social studies curriculum.

The unit I have created fits in with the Alberta Program of Studies for grade four Social Studies, topic B. The name of the topic is "Alberta: Its People in History". The Program of Studies states that students must learn about the lives of Albertans through three case studies: a Native community, a fur trading settlement, and a choice of one or more historical periods. One of the choices given is titled "boom years" and covers from 1947 onward. The following unit fulfills the third requirement of topic B through looking at the lives of women who lived in Alberta during the late 1940's and early 1950's.

I have chosen to construct this unit around what Nel Noddings calls "themes of care". My intent is to move away from a conflict model of history and look instead to caring and cooperation as organizing themes.

> "To have as our educational goal the production of caring, competent, loving and lovable people is not anti-intellectual. Rather, it demonstrates respect for the full range of human talents. Not all human beings are good at or interested in mathematics, science, or British literature. But all humans can be helped to lead lives of deep concern for others, for the natural world and its creatures, and for the preservation of the human-made world. They can be led to develop the skills and knowledge necessary to make positive contributions, regardless of the occupation they may choose" (Noddings, 1995, p. 676).

* * * * * * * * * *

Caring & Cooperation: Women in Alberta's History

(for use in Grade 4 Social Studies, Topic B)

Part 1: What do Caring and Cooperation Mean to You?

- As a class, discuss the words "caring" and "cooperation". What do these words mean? Give an example of caring or cooperation from your own life. Why are these things important? How do we learn about caring and cooperation? Do caring and cooperation differ for different people (race, age, gender...) in different times (past, present, future) and in different places?

- Have each student create something for display that shows caring and cooperation. As a class, brainstorm for ideas. Some possibilities might include:
    - write a story
    - draw a picture
    - make a collage out of articles from the newspaper
    - create a personal photo album from family photos and drawings
    - write a poem
    - create a comic strip
    - make a 3-D model

- Have the students share what they've created with the teacher/class/small group of students.

Part 2: Sharing Grandma's Story

- Read Grandma's Story to the class. Have them think about examples of cooperation and caring in the story.
- Have the students work in pairs or small groups. Give each group a copy of the story and have them highlight or underline examples of cooperation and caring.
- Come together as a class and list all of the examples from the story on a chart. Discuss why cooperation and caring were important during this woman's life at this time in history. How might the story be different if it were written from another point of view (the children, the grandfather, the hired help)?
- Explain that history can look very different depending on who is telling the story. Tell the students that one of the purposes of this unit in social studies is to focus on the stories of women in history, to see what their lives were like and how they contributed to the world.

Part 3: Collecting and Interpreting the Stories of Women

- Make arrangements for the children (in pairs or small groups) to go out into the community and listen to and record (on tape recorders) the stories of women who lived in Alberta during the 1940's and 1950's. The women will have to be contacted ahead of time to see whether or not they are willing to share a story with the children about life on the Alberta prairies. Some possibilities for sites might include: senior centres, senior homes, or elderly people living within the community (grandparents or great-grandparents of students, for example).
- The students will then work on a project that involves sharing the story they've recorded. Have the class brainstorm on ways they might share their story with others. Some possibilities include:
    - dramatizing the story
    - create an illustrated story book
    - do an oral presentation
    - make a poster or collage with some written or oral explanation of the story

  Ask the students to draw out the themes of caring and cooperation as part of their final project.

- Have the students plan a "Celebration of Learning" where they invite the women who shared their stories to the classroom. The students will have the opportunity to share their representations of the women's stories and show "cooperation and caring" in the context of their classroom.

* * * * * * * * *

This approach is only one of many possibilities. There are as many conceptions of curriculum and ways of incorporating women's stories as there are students and teachers. It is my hope that teachers may be able take what they can from my ideas and weave them into the curriculum they create for their own students in the context of their own classrooms. Perhaps it is not widespread curriculum reform that we need, but rather, an educated and informed body of teachers who are willing to see the world a little differently and share their vision with the students in their classrooms. We should not set out to change the world. Instead we should strive to present the full spectrum of human possibility and in so doing, enrich the lives of the students in our care, one student at a time.

References

Baldwin, P. & Baldwin, D. (1992). The portrayal of women in classroom textbooks. *Canadian Social Studies*, 26(3), 110-114.

Briskin, L. & Coulter, R. (1992). Feminist pedagogy: challenging the normative. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 17(3), 247-263.

Burton, H. M. (1995). *Grandma's Story*. Unpublished manuscript.

Coulter, R. (1989). To know themselves: the transformative possibilities of history for young women's lives. *The History and Social Science Teacher*, 25(1), 25-28.

McKenna, K. (1989). An examination of sex equity in the 1986 ontario curriculum guideline for history and contemporary studies. *The History and Social Science Teacher*. 25(1), 21-24.

Noddings, N. (1992). Social studies and feminism. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, XX(3), 230-241.

Noddings, N. (1995). Teaching themes of care. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 76(9), 675-679.

Prairie Patchwork. (1980). Lethbridge, AB: Robins Southern Printing Ltd.

Susan Hart, University of Alberta, Department of Elementary Education, 551 Education South, Edmonton, AB, T6G 2G5, (403) 433-2576(h), (403) 492-3840(w), shart@gpu.srv.ualberta.ca.

Boys in Family Studies/Home Economics:
Two Steps Forward, One Step Back?

Feminist writers in both the academic and popular presses have long problematized the politics of domestic labour (see: Armstrong & Armstrong, 1978; Luxton, 1980; Luxton & Rosenberg, 1986; Walkerdine & Lucey, 1989; Thorne & Yalom, 1992; Hite, 1994; and others). Few of these writers have commented on the role of schools in this regard, and in particular the education of boys.

The subject areas subsumed under Family Studies/Home Economics continue to be perceived (and devalued) as traditionally female domains. This has been exacerbated by the encouragement of girls to pursue non-traditional (male dominated and valued) subject areas. It is clear that gender equity will not be achieved by changing women alone, while further devaluing what has been viewed traditionally as women's work.

This study examines gender equity in education from the perspective of young men enrolled in secondary school optional courses in Foods, Parenting, and Family Studies. The curriculum, classroom practices, gendered socialization, and the transformative potential of family studies/home economics are critically examined and explored with male high school students and their teachers.

Spitting in the batter

> "I always found that they [boys] were so interested in their shop courses, they'd be so serious about how they did things and everything had to be just perfect, and then they'd come into Foods and they'd spit in the batter; they'd do all kinds of things and they didn't care because they thought it was a woman's kind of thing, they didn't have to be serious about it. I don't think that's right...." (Tracey, 15, quoted in Varpalotai, 1987)

The image of boys spitting in the batter during a home economics class has stayed with me from my doctoral research which explored the socialization and educational experiences of adolescent female athletes. The devaluing of home economics by both girls and boys intrigued me, and I wondered about the implications of this misogynist attitude for gender equity in general. (see also Eyre, 1991)

In 1970 the Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada recommended the following:

> "Family life education should teach boys how to care for children, to cook and sew, and should encourage girls to acquire manual skills. We believe that family life education classes should be co-educational and should begin at kindergarten level. Therefore, we recommend that, where they have not already done so, the provinces and territories set up courses in family life education, including sex education, which begin in kindergarten and continue through elementary and secondary school, and which are taught to girls and boys in the same classroom." (p.185)

What has happened in the meantime?

Despite the resistance and in some cases outright rejection of the female stereotypical role, girls always and everywhere are expected to contribute to the household work in ways that boys are not. Girls learn at a very young age how to perform simple domestic chores, later they are left in charge of younger siblings, and their education in home economics/family studies begins, and continues throughout their girlhood. It could even be argued that girls don't need formal classes in this subject area at all. Certainly this is one of the points Dena Attar makes in her book: Wasting Girls' Time (1990) a study of the history and politics of home economics in England.

But what about the boys? In our enthusiasm for making life better for girls and women have we forgotten about the role that men and boys need to play in creating a more equitable society? In 1992, young women at a symposium, organized by the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women recommended that young men need to be "educated in terms of equality, and also need to be trained in child care and family life." (p.24) Although fathers in some families are becoming more involved in parenting, boys generally do not grow up in households where parents share the domestic labour equitably even when, as is increasingly the case, the mother holds a full-time job outside of the home. Statistics Canada data shows that women continue to carry a double burden of work in and out of the home, while men divide their time between their paid work and leisure, with a small amount of household chores still split along inequitable and stereotypical lines. (Devereaux, 1993) While women's household work repeats itself on a daily cycle, men's duties have tended to be less frequent and immediate in nature and they frequently refer to their parenting contributions as "babysitting",
an occasional duty.

While programs about non-traditional employment opportunities are growing in number and popularity for girls, boys are rarely, if ever, exposed to home economics or family studies, beyond their introductory grade 7 and 8 classes. Nel Noddings suggests that "instead of asking why women lag behind men in mathematics, we might ask the following: Why do men lag behind women in elementary school teaching, early childhood education, nursing, full-time parenting, and like activities? Is there something wrong with men or with schools that this state of affairs persists?" (Noddings, 1991-92, p. 66)

A few pilot projects such as "Boys for Babies" (see Zarzour, 1989; and Miller & Miller, n.d.) exist, but these continue to be optional/experimental programs, not available to all students in all schools. Relatively few boys elect to study this subject area when they enter high school. Those that do, pursue it for very specific reasons, few of which concern their future role as parent or partner in a family: they think it's a "bird course" (an easy credit), or because of career possibilities, or for temporary survival purposes prior to marriage.

The Study:

Ten boys and three teachers from one high school were interviewed for this study. The young men ranged in age from 15-19. The teachers were all women, including the full-time family studies teacher, a part-time teacher, and a family studies student teacher who was completing her practicum at this school. The 10 male students represented 63% of the 16 young men enrolled in family studies courses at this mid-sized urban high school of 700 students. Six of the 10 students were enrolled in the OAC (formerly grade 13) family studies course, which is also classified as a sociology course. Only one of these senior students had taken a previous secondary school course in this subject area. The remaining students were divided between foods (3) and parenting (1) classes in grades 9, 10 and 11. Only one student made a clear link to his personal life and relationships. He felt that the OAC course would help him better understand his girlfriend (who was also in the class) and teach him to communicate better. One student took the foods course because he was concerned about his own health and nutrition. The students found out about the courses through friends (2), guidance counsellors (2) and one was pressured by his mother to take the class (she is a professor in a university family studies department). Ultimately, the boys found that it was not as easy as they expected, nor was the content what they had anticipated; none regretted having taken the course.

In the junior grades, the boys would have preferred "more cooking and less talking". Only one said that he is ridiculed by his friends for taking the course. Given that the students expected to learn very little, all of their academic expectations were exceeded. While the small number of males in the classes had been an early concern, only one complained about this minority status - this may be in part because the teachers each said that they went out of their way to accommodate and interest the boys in the subject matter. This raises interesting issues with regard to the education of girls which I will return to later in the paper.

Five of the 10 boys described the class as "fun". For some it was their most enjoyable class, freer and more flexible than their other classes, with discussion related to their personal interests. While on the one hand this notion of the class being more fun and less academically challenging than others contributes further to its devaluation, some boys noted that its status (among boys) was improved by the fact that football players take the course - some of these students are in "grade 14", as they say, trying to prolong their football playing days!

The boys in the courses could be classified in two general groupings: those who are athletes, popular and confident students who would not be ridiculed by their peers, and those who were "different" and enjoyed their uniqueness, and therefore didn't care what others would think. Even still, when pressed the students generally acknowledged that they would not carry discussions from their class to their friends in the cafeteria, nor would they openly encourage other boys to take the course even though they felt that boys should and would benefit from it. There was a clear separation between what went on in class and their lives beyond it.

Each of the teachers expressed serious concerns about the vulnerability of a course that is largely female, and tends not to fit neatly with other course groupings in the school. It is also one of a few courses that is entirely elective throughout the high school years. The student teacher, a self-identified feminist, perceived the fact that the course was almost an exclusively female one as a positive factor, despite her fears of its demise. She felt that it had the potential to empower girls and create a space for them to discuss feminist issues and concerns. It was the only space of its kind in the school and from that perspective she almost preferred not to have boys in the class at all.

Many of the students said that the course helped to open their minds to different values and cultures, along with specific information about nutrition, parenting, and family roles. One interesting observation from having sat in on several OAC class presentations, as well as highlighted in the interviews, was the prevalence of "multi-cultural" education in these classes. Students were taught, and asked to do presentations, about the foods, as well as the "mating and marriage rituals" of other cultures both historically and at the present time. While the student teacher expressed the hope that family studies might be a sensible location for the introduction of feminist and gender issues, our limited exposure to these lessons did not indicate any kind of critical analysis of the cultural traditions presented or of similar Canadian traditions. While the boys in some cases expressed concerns about the feminist orientation of the girls in the class, and their reluctance to speak for fear that the girls would "gang up" on them, others recounted episodes of deliberately teasing the girls. Examples given included statements from the boys that "women belong in the kitchen", and the days when wife beating was considered acceptable were referred to as the "good old days". They claimed these remarks were intended to simply get a reaction from the girls, although one student felt that there may have been an undertone of seriousness to his classmates' statements. There did not appear to be an explicit discussion of these changing views and feelings with respect to gender roles, although several students noted that their teacher had talked to them about her own divorce and life as a single mother and that this had been enlightening and useful for them. Any awareness that the young men had in the area of gender issues (discussed below) did not seem to be a direct result of these courses.

Three of the 10 students thought these courses should be compulsory so that they would be taken more seriously, and so that boys would be introduced to the content (which is widely misunderstood by the general student population) early in high school. The students offered a variety of suggestions to make the courses more appealing to males. Four felt that a name change would help attract more boys, those in the foods course thought there should be more cooking and eating within the curriculum and that this would appeal to boys. Several others wanted the issues changed to be of more interest to males but didn't give details as to what those issues might be - one felt that there was too much emphasis on pregnancy and motherhood and not enough about fathers. One said: "at this age guys don't care about the family." In contrast, another said he would recommend this course "**especially** for guys - the majority of social problems are because of men, therefore we need to learn to change. Males are not being good role models in families." The boys generally recognized the stereotyped nature and reputation of the courses, but did not have concrete recommendations for changing this other than making it compulsory and therefore less open to ridicule. The most valuable parts of the courses were identified as those that were "hands-on" (although there was not enough of this) and the group work, which was evident in all of the classes. Generally, it was felt that the content of these courses would be useful to them in the future.

Gender Attitudes

As mentioned earlier, many of these boys seemed to have fairly progressive views on gender issues in response to a series of gender attitude questions. In some cases this appeared to make them more open to the course content, but the courses did not seem to have contributed to these views one way or another. While it is difficult to gauge how much of what they said in the interviews is rhetoric, and how much is lived in day to day interactions, there may be some progress in the area of awareness and attitude. Broader surveys need to be conducted to get a sense of how representative these views are.

Family studies is described as "wimpy", "a joke", and a "girls' course", by boys who don't take it - it is often ridiculed based on outdated and stereotypical perceptions of the course content. Two of the students observed that it is devalued because it is "female oriented" and seen as a "woman's role". Some boys use it as a break from their heavier courses - counselled to do so by the guidance office - or as an extra course, a filler. One boy's parents discouraged him from taking the course, they felt his time would be better spent on a more academic subject, he finally convinced them that he needed an easy course with a high mark to help him get into university. In retrospect it is not his easiest course or his highest mark, and his parents now see some value in his taking it.

Most of the students yearn for a "normal" nuclear family where tasks are shared equally, however children are still seen as predominantly the mother's responsibility. Whether or not their future wife worked outside the home was to be left up to her. Several expressed unhappiness with their own families and did not want to repeat the cycle in their future families. Only one student was ambivalent about marriage. A number of the students used the term "helping out" when talking about domestic work - their fathers help out with cooking and cleaning, they will help out with parenting, etc. Two expressed a desire for sons, with whom they would be more active parents than with daughters. Half of the boys felt that the nuclear family was the best possible and most natural of family arrangements, the other half felt there were viable alternatives, including same sex couples and single parents.

Discussion

Rosemary Brown remarks on the absolute dependence of men on women for their everyday needs ("No Way, Not Me!", NFB, 1989). While this dependence can be viewed as a male inadequacy, the reality is that most men are either looked after by women, in an unpaid capacity, or they can afford to pay someone to clean, cook, and launder. There are relatively few single fathers. So what are the incentives for men to become educated and active partners in the home and family?

The results of men's non-involvement are women's double workday, stress, career constraints, and lack of leisure. Domestic responsibilities keep some women out of the public sphere: politics, demanding and high paying careers and administrative positions. For some men there is regret that they didn't spend more time with their children. The traditional sex roles continue to be reinvented, even as women make progress in post-secondary education and the workplace. What is the potential role of family studies/home economics for boys?

Other studies which have in whole or in part looked at boys in these courses have had similar findings - what to do about them is where the studies diverge. Attar's book (1990) concludes that family studies/home economics is a waste of time for girls, and that feminists should not devote their energy to making it more appealing for boys. While some have argued that the course is a "haven for girls" in the sense of single sex education within a co-educational school, Attar argues that the actual effect is to detract girls from potentially more valuable subject areas. She goes on to say that the existence of home economics has ensured the differentiation of boys' and girls' education in a variety of ways, by affecting what is taught (or not) in other subjects. While she acknowledges that home economics is devalued and neglected because it is seen to be a female subject, she argues that one of the simple solutions to the stereotype is to encourage more boys to take home economics, and for all traces of gender stereotyping to be removed... [however] "gender was never something casually added on, which can be as casually removed. Home economics was invented as a girls' subject, and this identity has framed its content and shaped its forms of instruction.... : marking out one area of the curriculum `for girls' has inevitably marked out the rest of the curriculum in degrees of suitability for girls or boys." (p.27)

While girls may be attracted to the girls-only spaces offered in family studies classes, this is less a reflection on the course content than the safety to be found there from the harassment and intimidation experienced in co-ed classrooms. This cannot be a justification for maintaining these courses while neglecting the reasons that girls feel uncomfortable in the rest of the school.

A recent British Columbia study on boys' lack of participation in family management classes (Hall, n.d.), suggests that the problem is related to the image they have of the subject area. "Can a curriculum that is developed by women meet the interests of boys?" she asks. Hall's recommendations include the participation of men in curriculum development, to make the subject more interesting for boys, as well as addressing gender stereotypes which arise within the dominant ideology. Similarly, Lawson (1993) argues that the solution lies in more men as leaders and educators in home economics, given that boys lack role models in this field.

All of the studies show that boys have more fun in home economics than girls. Attar has also found that learning to cook or about children does not necessarily change boys' stereotyped notions about roles in the home. All of the studies agree that boys need to be challenged both directly and indirectly about their attitudes, stereotyping, and masculinity. Kenway (1993) argues further that beyond compulsory home economics classes for boys, "perhaps it also requires Home Economics to do some demythologizing" about the traditional notions of the nuclear family, with a more critical curriculum about the changing nature and problems of the family in contemporary society.

While boys are accommodated, praised and catered to, in order to make them comfortable in the home economics classroom, Attar wonders if this is once again at the expense of the girls:

> it is more pertinent to ask when girls were ever praised for their curiosity or wild and clumsy enthusiasm... and whether the praise [boys] collect is at the expense of girls, whose achievements in home economics... are not so unequivocally admired...
> (pp. 134-135)

This brings us back full circle to the study of girls and their educational needs. Are we in fact wasting our time, and theirs, trying to reinvent home economics and family studies to suit boys? This is not to argue that family studies has no place in the school curriculum for girls or boys. On the contrary, family studies should be everywhere in the curriculum - an unavoidable, intrinsically interconnected part of every subject. Boys as well as girls, as is evident from these interviews, enjoy talking about subjects of personal interest to themselves. While girls are seen to "gossip" about these issues all the time, boys have only been able to engage in these discussions in their family studies class when they have been given permission to do so. They did not feel comfortable carrying the discussion beyond the classroom. They wanted the course to be compulsory to legitimate their participation in it.

However, the artificial separation of family from all else in the curriculum, as well as the ghettoization of what is perceived to be women's work, ensures the knowledge and power gap, it reproduces the public and private / male and female spheres of our society, and only very rarely does it make a difference in changing the attitudes and behaviours of the few students who opt to learn about the family.

We do need to pay attention to the way boys are socialized and educated, we need to intervene as educators, for the sake of the girls as well as the boys, on issues of sexual harassment, violence, and other overt and subtle forms of sexism and manifestations of other inequalities. A proactive, anti-sexist approach is necessary in all classrooms, where girls' and boys' interests and aptitudes are equally validated whether the boy is a skilled baker or the girl is an outstanding athlete. (Askew & Ross, 1988) Only such systematic, daily intervention will interrupt and breakdown the stereotypes and attitudes that have made family studies so problematic for girls and boys. This is not just a family issue, it is a social and educational issue. (Ontario Women's Directorate, 1994)

References

Armstrong, P. and Armstrong, H. (1978) *The Double Ghetto: Canadian Women and Their Segregated Work*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Askew, S. and Ross, C. (1988) *Boys don't cry: Boys and sexism in education*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Attar, D. (1990) *Wasting Girls' Time: The history and politics of home economics*. London: Virago Press.

Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women. (1992) *Young Women Speak Out*, Ottawa.

Devereaux, M.S. (1993) "Time Use of Canadians in 1992", *Canadian Social Trends*. 30, 13-16.

Hall, E. (ND) "Boys' Participation in Family Management Classes", Surrey School District, British Columbia.

Hite, S. (1994) *The Hite Report on the Family: Growing Up Under Patriarchy*. London: Bloomsbury.

Kenway, J. (1993) "The Wind Beneath Girls' Wings: Gender Justice, Social Change and Home Economics", in Canadian Home Economics Journal 43(2) Spring 1993.

Lawson, R.J. (1993) "Men and Home Economics in the U.S.: 1900-1975", in Journal of Home Economics, Spring.

Luxton M. (1980) *More than a labour of love: Three Generations of Women's Work in the Home*. Toronto: The Women's Press.

Luxton, M. and Rosenberg, H.. (1986) *Through the Kitchen Window: The Politics of Home and Family*, Toronto: Garamond Press.

Miller, D. and Miller, J. (n.d.) *Boys for Babies: Discussion Leaders Guide*. Scarborough: Canadian Learning Company.

Noddings, N. (1991-1992) "The Gender Issue", in Educational Leadership. Dec./Jan.

Ontario Women's Directorate. (1994) Work and Family: Families and the Economy: New Partnerships, New Strategies. Toronto.

Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (1970), Ottawa.

Thorne, B., with Yalom, M. (eds.). (1992) *Rethinking the Family: Some Feminist Questions*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Varpalotai, A. (1987) *Sport, Gender and the Hidden Curriculum in Leisure: A Case Study of Adolescent Girls*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto.

Walkerdine, V. and Lucey, H. (1989) *Democracy in the Kitchen: Regulating Mothers and Socialising Daughters*. London: Virago.

Zarzour, K. (1989) "Boys for Babies", in Toronto Star, June 23.

Aniko Varpalotai, Division of Educational Policy Studies, Faculty of Education,
Althouse College, The University of Western Ontario,
London, Ontario, N6G 1G7;
661-2087 Ext. 8605; (FAX) 661-3833; (E-mail) aniko@edu.uwo.ca

The Family Studies Classroom--Values and Evaluations

Opening Remarks: My own life illustrates the central dichotomy which I address in this paper. Since my earliest exposure to the area, I have had a passionate love for mathematics, logic, and formal systems generally. In the early and most obnoxious stage of my exposure to logic, I loved to "prove" people wrong by casting what they said into standard logical form and then performing a "reductio ad absurdum" so as to clarify for them the shortcomings of their positions. My other passion--needlework--was more conducive to winning friends and influencing people. My mother taught me to embroider at the age of three and to knit a year later. She taught me how to read a pattern when I was about eight, thus making me an autonomous knitter a decade before most people even know how to hold the needles. From a young age, I perceived the general mathematical forms of knitting patterns and am now able to combine elements from several different patterns into one garment, and even to design my own patterns. I am able to do this because I can envisage the links between general mathematical formulas, the relevant variables (yarn type and needle size), and the completed garment. In some sense, then, I have managed to integrate these two passions in such a way that they complement one another. As an illustration, at one stage in my academic career, much to the disgruntlement of university officials, I listed all my sewing certificates on my curriculum vitae.

Yet at another level I recognize the incongruity of these double passions in much the same terms as it is spelled out in the pervasive social context which places not only a wedge, but a hierarchy between the two. This paper and its central theme emerge, then, as an attempt to explore further the tension created by straddling two worlds in one's sense of self-identity.

Introduction[1]: In this paper I explore the ways in which family studies is evaluated by the ten students[2] and one teacher whom I interviewed. The age of the students ranged from sixteen through nineteen and their grade level from Grade 11 through OAC. The teacher had had twenty-six years teaching experience. Even though the participants' evaluations tend to be very positive, the old stereotypes which devalue much of women's traditional work are to some extent reflected in these interviews. My observations are based on the participants' comments, and include both their own perceptions as well as their sense of other people's perceptions.

Outline: The paper focuses on the following four themes: (1) standard academic work versus traditionally identified women's work; (2) theory and practice; (3) caring and knowing; and (4) family studies' classrooms as caring in terms of both curriculum content and classroom dynamics. My comments on the first theme occupy the largest part of the discussion.

(1) Standard Academic Work versus Traditionally Identified Women's Work: The most dramatic facet of this dichotomy was revealed in the students' comments focusing specifically on the OAC sociology course and the sewing and food courses. Course selection alone was very revealing with regard to this theme. While sixty percent of the students interviewed had taken or were taking the OAC sociology course, a mere twenty and thirty percent had taken or were taking the sewing and food courses respectively. My point is more dramatic than these numbers indicate, for one can assume that the OAC students, who are about to leave secondary school, will not likely be adding the sewing or food courses to their repertoires, whereas the students not yet at the OAC level may well be taking the OAC sociology course within one or two years.

The students' comments in many ways reflected their course selection. It became apparent to me early in the interviewing process that there were two dramatically opposing evaluation schemes for family studies evident in the students' comments. One scheme placed family studies firmly in an academic tradition, whereas the other scheme identified the importance of family studies in the traditionally-designated forms of women's labour, namely, sewing, cooking, and child care. I will reserve most of my discussion of the students' comments on child care for later, however, and will focus now on their comments about sewing and cooking.

The academic merits of the family studies courses, particularly the OAC sociology course, were echoed again and again by the students. Jessica claimed that "The first year sociology course is almost an extension of the OAC course. Social work deals with all the issues that we have dealt with in parenting class." Isabelle and Daisy referred to the course as having a high reputation. Hope expressed the view that although males assumed the family studies courses would be easy, those who enrolled in the personal management course were for the most part failing and appealing to her for help with the course content; Eva thought that the few boys who enrolled in family studies courses and saw these courses through to completion would have perceived them as "higher end" (i.e., difficult) courses, but not important. Eva also felt that her research skills had been improved by her exposure to the family studies program and that she learned things which could be applied to other courses. She perceived that her guidance counsellors regarded the OAC sociology course as the hardest of all the OAC courses; she herself felt it was "the closest thing to a university course" she had taken, and that of all her teachers, "the family studies teacher is most like a university teacher." Susan credited the course with familiarizing her with "a lot of the terms we will need to know in university." Thomas, the only male who remained in his OAC sociology class, speculated that the other males dropped out because "it was a difficult course. It is a really good course for university preparation." Seven students stated that the course was a pre-requisite for or of obvious relevance to a particular university or community college program which they wished to enter, and for that reason a valuable course for them to take.

Jessica, emphasizing the academic status of family studies, pointed out that "people think that if you take family studies it means that you are cooking and sewing, but that's not my interests." The teacher's references to their classroom, equipped with fridge, stove, dishwasher, table, dishes, cutlery, and freshly baked goods as "our lab" rather than "our kitchen" reflected Jessica's emphasis, rather than Susan's, to be discussed below. This vocabulary choice seems to suggest an affiliation with a scientific and academic tradition together with a disassociation from the traditional female milieu. Mrs. A, the teacher whom I interviewed, reflected the dichotomy in her remarks. She said that she was initially attracted to family studies because of her interest in foods and nutrition, yet she also emphasized the academic status of the program. Students "don't always perceive family studies as academic as some subjects until they have taken it and discover otherwise," she said.

In contrast to the strong focus on the academic merits of the family studies program was a much weaker thread running through the discussion extolling the importance of cooking and sewing. In sharp contrast to Jessica's comments above, Susan said that while many of her friends "think it's kind of dumb, my way to express myself is through cooking or being with kids or sewing. My other friends don't care about family studies. I always defend it. I think it's very worthwhile." Susan was one of the two students who had taken both the food and sewing courses. Patricia also listed as specific benefits of family studies courses *for females* that they learned "how to act properly, raise children. Cooking, sewing, and what society expects of them." Patricia was the only one of the ten students whom I interviewed who spoke of family studies in this sort of way, recalling with her phrases "how to act properly" and "what society expects of them," a much earlier era when the official mandate of family studies or home economics courses was to prepare women to serve men and to provide them with the skills required for running a household. This connection has often been very subtle, but some writers document its being made in an explicit way. (See Cline & Spender 1987; Hitching 1987; Gilliland 1987, Ihle 1990.)

While several of the students said that they had no cognizance of other teachers' impressions of the family studies program, those who did express themselves on this issue had some fairly discouraging observations. Thomas said the program is "almost ignored"; according to Eva, teachers do not regard family studies as highly as "the sciences and maths and geography," although she added that "they have more respect for the sociology course and they take it seriously as a serious OAC course. There seems to be a different level (more respect) with the sociology course compared to the food and sewing course." While several students stated that family studies courses were recommended to them by other teachers, it is not clear what one should make of these recommendations. Daisy, for example, said that her learning resources teacher recommended these courses, and then added that "he's the kind of teacher who encourages anything." Vera said that her guidance counsellor encouraged her to take the course on the grounds that "it would be a lot of fun." Hope felt that other teachers looked to family studies courses to help alleviate the "many problems with families these days." Jessica's impression that teachers were "impressed" with students who had taken the parenting or sociology courses was the most positive; Susan's commentary was the most distressing--"The music teachers like the family studies department because they get free food. None of my other teachers talk about it," she said.

Students' perceptions of parental responses to the family studies program reflected the dichotomy I discussed earlier. Daisy and Jessica indicated parental enthusiasm concerning how these courses would further their children's career plans. Susan said her parents were pleased because she had become a better cook, and Vera reported that her mother wanted her to learn how to sew. Thomas struggled more than the females with negative parental feedback, at least initially. "At first they didn't understand why. Why take that when you could be taking something else." Later, however, when he was further into the course, "they saw that it was very worthwhile, and that it may be one of the most important courses you can take."

(2) Theory and Practice: There was a strong emphasis on the importance of practical hands-on experience in the students' and teacher's comments. Many of the students extolled the merits of the co-op courses in particular for providing them with this direct experiential knowledge. Although this may seem to contradict the strong emphasis on the academic and scientific credentials of family studies discussed under the first theme, I propose that it need not be a contradiction at all. If theory and practice are seen to be linked in a true pragmatic sense, rather than disparate contradictory approaches to a subject matter, then the practical experience valued in such a powerful way by the students is an essential part of how they come to achieve knowledge and scientific understanding of their discipline. Ironically, it has been my experience that few educators actually *believe* in a pragmatic link between theory and practice; they may speak of such a linkage in rhetorical terms, but when the conversation gets serious, it is apparent that they are either theoreticians at heart who despise practitioners as uninformed and anti-intellectual, or they are practitioners at heart who despise theoreticians as trivial hair-splitters. The students in this study provided much more insight into a scheme which integrates theory and practice in such a way as to both augment our knowledge base and to live our lives in a better way. Their discussion of parenting was particularly instructive in this regard; they perceived both the hands-on experience and the exposure to child development theory as contributing to their knowledge of children, in such as way as to augment their own capacity as care-givers and potential parents. This brings me directly to the next theme--caring and knowing.

(3) Caring and Knowing: Overwhelmingly, the students emphasized the connection between family studies courses and caring. All ten students referred to family studies courses as providing strong benefits with regard to relationships and communication skills. This point, made thirty-one different times in the interviews, was the most frequently reiterated benefit of family studies to emerge from the interviews. Six students referred ten times to the value of family studies in promoting greater respect for and understanding of others; five students referred seven times to greater self-understanding as a benefit of family studies, and seven students referred fifteen times to family studies as promoting greater understanding and tolerance of children.[3]

There was an interesting split in the students' perceptions of gender and caring; five students claimed that males and females cared equally and in the same way, but that males failed to express their caring as clearly as females, while four students maintained that males simply did not care as much as females. The students' perceptions on the relationship between gender and caring emerged very strongly in their speculative comments on the impact of a male family studies teacher on a family studies classroom, so I turn now to the next theme, which addresses that topic specifically.

(4) Family Studies' Classrooms as Caring: Eight of the ten students (including Thomas) emphasized their preference for a female family studies teacher. They believed that a female teacher would provide, first, a more caring class, second, a different emphasis in terms of curriculum content, and third, more educational opportunities for the girls. Jessica expressed this first position succinctly--she said, "The family studies teachers are very empathic and sensitive and I don't know if I've ever met a man that has the same qualities as my three [female] family studies teachers." Excerpts from three of the students' comments elucidate the second point. Thomas said that if taught by a male, the family studies courses "might be more masculinized. Might not focus on relationships and social aspects and focus more on financial aspects." Patricia suggested that with a male teacher "the sexual harassment part might have been different. A male teacher might not have thought it was very important or happened very often." Daisy speculated that "a man maybe wouldn't have shown a movie that had all women in it. I think it would have been more biased, different opinions." The third point is illustrated clearly in the comments of four students and Mrs. A herself. Isabelle, while admitting that the "guys would be able to joke around a bit more" with a male teacher, said she didn't "think the girls would be able to open up as much and ask questions. He's not a female, so really, what does he know about it?" Eva said "the females seem so at home and into their role. I can't see males getting into it as much, putting their heart into it." Susan speculated that she didn't "think we could talk about it [childbirth] openly with" a male teacher. At another point in the interview, however, discussing her grade 9 food course, Susan said that "There were males in the class so the teacher wouldn't be sexist or anything. *She would help the males first* because she might have thought that they needed more help than the girls." It is interesting that Susan's perspective on sexual egalitarianism--helping the males first--ties in all too smoothly with research on classroom dynamics. (See for example, Cline & Spender 1987; French & French 1984; Spender 1982.) Celeste claimed that a family studies course taught by a man "would have been structured differently; more read the book and do the work; not as much discussion. Sometimes men are more close-minded towards issues for women." Mrs. A herself made a closer connection between caring and the classroom process than curriculum content. "As a teacher, I believe in the process over the content or curriculum, that what is going on in the classroom is important, and if we don't cover the curriculum, so what?"

Some students seemed to see an increased number of male students as augmenting the value of family studies. In Patricia'a words, "A lot of guys still think of it as *just* a girls' class. If guys joined, it would be good." Others saw male students as an interference with one of the few opportunities girls had to open up in a classroom. Susan stated that "we were more freely able to talk without the males there." Students and teacher alike took a certain glee in pointing out that boys who opted into family studies courses under the impression that they were easy credits, had a rude awakening, and either came to terms with the heavy academic workload, or ended up with a failure.

I believe there is a connection between this point and the dichotomy discussed at the beginning of the paper. In one context, family studies has been "legitimated" by aligning it with the traditionally male-oriented conventions--hence the academic difficulty of the OAC sociology course is perceived very positively. Even course names reflect this perspective--consider "Sociology[4]" and "Personal Life *Management*." In another quite different context, family studies is legitimated by strengthening its connections with traditionally identified women's work and by emphasizing the honour and the importance of that work. Cooking, sewing, and mothering are emphasized in this context; this point is made very dramatically by Vera, who says "I want to stay home with my kids. . . . I want to have the special bond, so I want to be the one to stay home with the kids."

I conclude by raising some questions about this dichotomy: Is an escape from the terms of the dichotomy even possible, or do women necessarily live with the contradictions which it entails? Is "escape" the right word, suggesting as it does that the irreconcilability of the two positions is undesirable? Do women choose both positions in different contexts of our lives? Are the positions reconcilable in some future world which no longer devalues women and traditional women's work? Will these students be able to deal with the dichotomy in ways not available to their mothers and perhaps not even imaginable to their teachers?[5]

Notes

1. The research for this paper was made possible through a grant (Number 3118 207) received from the Faculty of Education, The University of Western Ontario, which is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

2. The ten students whom I interviewed tended to have a fairly extensive background in family studies, but some more extensive than others. The following summary refers to the courses these students had taken or were taking at the grade 9 through OAC level, and does not take into account any family studies exposure they may have had prior to grade 9. Eight of the ten had either taken or were currently taking the parenting course; Thomas and Eva were the only two students with no exposure to the parenting course. (All names occurring in this paper are, of course, pseudonyms.) Six--namely, Daisy, Jessica, Thomas, Eva, Celeste, and Hope--had and taken or were taking the OAC Sociology course. Two--Daisy and Susan--had taken or were taking both the clothing and food courses and Hope had taken the food course.

3. The significance of these comments is further strengthened by the fact that they all emerged spontaneously. The students were asked what benefits they perceived female and male students to derive from family studies courses, but the specific benefits that they cited were their thoughts alone, and not suggested in any way by me.

4. Interestingly, the actual title of this course is "Families in Canadian Society." I heard it referred to only as "the OAC Sociology Course" by both students and teachers alike, which makes my point even stronger.

5. Mrs. A addressed herself to this question when discussing the tension involved in combining a full-time job in the paid work-force with homemaking and parenthood; she said that she could not predict the ways which would be available to her students to cope with this tension, but that it was crucial that they develop "creative ways" to combine the two roles.

References

Cline, S. and Spender, D. (1987). *Reflecting men at twice their natural size.* London: Andre Deutch Limited.

French, J. and French, P. (1984). Sociolinguistics and gender divisions. In S. Acker (Ed.), *World yearbook of education 1984: Women and education*. New York: Kogan Page, London/Nichols Publishing Company.

Gilliland, M. A. (1987). Home arts (1911). In D. Spender (Ed.), *The education papers: Women's quest for equality in Britain, 1850-1912.* New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Hitching, W. (1987). Home management (1910). In D. Spender (Ed.), *The education papers: Women's quest for equality in Britain, 1850-1912.* New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Ihle, E. L. (1990). Black women's education in the south: The dual burdens of race and sex. In J. Antler and S. K. Biklen (Eds.), *Changing education: Women as radicals and conservators.* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Spender, D. (1982). *Invisible women: The schooling scandal.* London: Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative Society Ltd in association with Chameleon Editorial Group.

Maryann Ayim, Faculty of Education, The University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, N6G 1G7. Phone: 519-661-2087, x. 8604. Fax: 519-661-3833. Email: ayim@edu.uwo.ca

Including Women's Wisdom - Connecting with the Intuitive

When I was child, I spoke with the voice of a child
Most often silent, but when utterances came,
I was told to wait till I grew up and would
Have something of importance to say.

When I was a young woman, I spoke with the voice of caution
Waiting for the breaks in conversation.
When the timing was right, I'd burst forth
But whatever was heard, was in need of correction.

When I was a woman in the world, I found a public voice
But it was a public voice indeed
Being time to speak out, but in the parables of the day.
Quite a proper voice - it wasn't mine at all.

We speak with an authentic voice when connecting with our inner wisdom. Yet it eludes those of us who have become estranged from our own ways of knowing, have substituted others' wisdom or have lost trust in intuition - the way to get there. Voicing the known moves the knowing into being just as sound penetrates time and words have power to touch. This is our truth, a personal truth and not the lofty truth, more akin to perfection than reality.

In observing those who struggle to express themselves, there is hesitation, self-censorship, judgment, or despair lurking, ready to sabotage. This illustrates how difficult it is to voice without the support of intuitive connection and trust in self. What should be a simple fluid motion from inner knowing to voicing becomes an arduous obstacle course when we've forgotten the way.

Clarissa Pinkola Estes in *Women Who Run With the Wolves*, retells a story about a young girl without her voice. Vasalisa is silent to the cruelties heaped upon her by her new guardians. She obediently does what she is told, even when sent to what will be her probable death in the journey to get fire from the fearsome Baba Yaga. She is silent in obedience and out of touch with her own pain. Yet her dying mother had given her a most valued gift while on her deathbed, the way to Vasalisa's own knowing which inevitably activates her own voice. It is the gift of a doll who is to be her friend and guide her in her life.

The mother tells Vasalisa to feed the doll and take care of it and it will always advise her well, no matter what trouble she may be in. The doll will know. With this gift, her mother gives Vasalisa more than the good counsel to trust herself or admonishment to listen to her own inner workings. The mother knows how difficult a task this would be for someone unfamiliar with this way of trusting and not having a supportive mentor to help point her to herself. Instead the mother gives a gift that Vasalisa can truly access, in projecting the young girl's own wisdom onto something outside of herself, yet readily accessible - the doll. This is the gift of projected play, make believe, and taking on role. *This is the gift of drama.*

By listening for the doll to speak to her, Vasalisa can relax and wait instead of busily generating thought. Little by little, in trusting this interaction, Vasalisa will eventually claim the doll's wisdom as her own. But for the time being, it needs to be "out there" where it can be seen.

This is the tool available to help open us to ourselves, that is available in drama. Here I am not referring to drama as oriented towards theatrical production, but as a means of learning by going more deeply with aesthetic sensibility to where we react honestly in imaginary circumstances. It is important to trust participants as artists, relying on our inner knowing so that the work becomes a genuine exploration, not coming to the work with preconceived goals. Using this approach, participants easily and emotionally hook into the playing and we project ourselves into roles which distance us from our usual constraints. This amounts to nothing short of liberation.

In this sacred space of invention and exploration we are not held back by the usual restrictions of acting as ourselves. Being in someone else's shoes has a tremendous capacity for altering perception and understanding in a host of contexts. For the purpose of exploring intuition, we place ourselves in the role of others yet all the while we are accessing our own inner resources. We then play in whatever contexts we desire. Later in reflection, the disguises of our wisdom can be examined and new paths to self are cleared.

As women raised in patriarchy, we have disconnected from our natural ways of knowing. Our innate wisdom is subdued until our voice is either silenced, intermittent, or co-opted by other powers. As children we are silenced often when we know and see. We soon learn to stop this knowing and seeing and keep quiet. In school we learn to trust the rational ways of knowing and distrust the intuitive. Our path to success, as society defines it, is often wrought with many little deaths along the way. The greatest tragedy would be to find ourselves at the end of our lives, never having heeded the prompting of our own soul or inner nature.

This creates a specific challenge for education, since education is about knowing. Yet education fails to adequately address inner knowing which leads to self-reliance more urgently required in an increasingly uncertain and unstable future. Education presently addresses the self-reliance of marketing one's skills in a competitive global economy in order to succeed. Now more than ever, as our planet seriously suffers under the burden of industry and exploitation, we cannot continue to engage in competition at its expense. While many still cling to dreams of wealth and luxury as a key to happiness, increased scarcity as well as the need to be responsible to our planet makes it essential for us to point students to others means of happiness and lasting satisfaction. The means is to support students in accessing ways of tuning into themselves so they can be self-directed and find their individual way of defining purpose and contentment.

This is what Estes describes as the necessity to access the wildness within. While this is a gender inclusive capability, she speaks particularly of women in the focus of her book:

> "When women reassert their relationship with the wildish nature, they are gifted with a permanent and internal watcher, a knower, a visionary, an oracle, an inspiratrice, an intuitive, a maker, a creator, an inventor, and a listener who guide, suggest, and urge vibrant life in the inner and outer worlds. When women are close to this nature, the fact of that relationship glows through them. This wild teacher, wild mother, wild mentor supports their inner and outer lives, no matter what."[1]

Caring for your soul is an opening to live an organic, instinctive life, yet one as complex as the individual itself and therefore not easily unraveled or remedied by others. Young people manifest soul needs by seeking other than worldly experiences as played out in drug use, gang association, opting out and surfing the net. Ongoing nourishment for the soul is required throughout stages of life just as we require regular nourishment for our physical bodies.

When the individual is healthy and cared for, our society will be as well. The results of connecting to our inner wisdom go well beyond the personal. Donald Keyes states that "the growth toward inner realization of any individual results in a modified global field."2 or David Selby sees that "the outward journey is also the inward journey. The two journeys are complementary and mutually illuminating."3 The addition of intuitive wisdom to any educational curriculum readily allows it to move beyond the current trend towards job training and enter into the realm of true education where new visions are explored and what is human, reclaimed.

---

[1] C.P. Estes, *Women Who Run With the Wolves* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1995), p.6.

The reclaiming of old ways of knowing refashioned to the needs of today cannot be learned by telling. Cognitive functioning will not get us there. In reading books designed to create change in our lives, the information so often seems to take hold only in our minds. While visualization and meditation are able to access calm and wisdom and have been proven effective in problem solving and goal actualization, dramatic playing has the advantage of integrating our physicality. Act-ing assists in processing new information at the cellular level where new memory becomes flesh. Embodiment allows for functioning out of reflex. Since drama mostly happens in groups, this allows for further support of others and the potential for greater validation within the holding of a human container. Isolation is obviated although the individual is the starting and ending point. Drama goes beyond simulation to emotional engagement when reality and fiction are simultaneously held and we are able to slip "between worlds", the home of possibility.

Preparation for drama involves what Augusto Boal calls the "de-mechanization of the body", readying it for greater absorption and creation in the drama. The skilled teacher builds momentum, sharpens focus and weaves more intricate patterns into the play. All the while the process encircles us, our various ways of knowing and communicating with the entire web of life, meshing the world of possibilities with our personal needs. This opens us to levels of new understanding. As Dorothy Heathcote puts it, "True gut-level drama has to do with what you at your deepest level want to know about what it is to be human... [and] acquires significance as it reverberates in the chambers of the universal".4

---

[2] Graham Pike and David Selby, *Reconnecting* (Surrey, UK: World Wide Fund for Nature, 1995), p.19.

[3] Ibid. p.18.

[4] Betty Jane Wagner, *Dorothy Heathcote: Drama as a Learning Medium* (London UK: Stanley Thornes Ltd., 1979), p.76.

This call to new understanding of self is what Estes knows satisfies the wildish nature and Audrey Lorde challenges as the reclamation of the erotic. This is the same inner dimension that global educators acknowledge as being crucial to the healing of the macrocosm, and that which must root all actions to withstand time, resistance and criticism.

As women, our cyclical patterns connecting to earth and moon, our age old role of giving and protecting life, our presiding over the rites of death and regeneration throughout the ages, all call us to reclaim the intuitive realm. The key to planetary survival rests in us claiming the birth right of our woman-nature. While many women are finding their way through various grass roots movements, educators have a special responsibility to be holistic in their practice. Education still has the opportunity of encountering virtually everyone in society as they pass through this compulsory system. For educators, drama is the indispensable tool in reaching students and having them dynamically reach into themselves as it frees from the circuitous trap of thinking and allows slipping into feelings and body for reconnection of our whole selves.

It is in this intense and personal focus on the individual, that we go through our centre to find our way to the universal and connect to the cosmos. In the collaboration of dramatic playing, for example, where everyone has input in what is essentially a collective work, each individual must still compare the information with owned experience, check it out with one's inner guide and retain what makes sense, and reject the rest. This validation of relevance, while individual, is fundamentally connective because we share this way of knowing with all living creatures who exist by their own rhythms, inner urges and unique design. This applies to humans, non-human animals and the entirety of creation.

Scientist, Rupert Sheldrake, in his controversial theories of morphic resonance, challenges conventional theories of evolution which believe that factors such as genetics or brain stored memory traces program our development and the acquisition of all new behaviours required for species survival. His experiments show that learning also occurs beyond conventional communication, observation or the following of example. All natural systems are influenced by and also themselves have influence upon the organizing principles within life itself. This is in contrast to the Platonic/Pythagorean belief in fixed laws governing us from outside of creation. This corresponds to the difference between seeking knowledge outside of us and finding knowledge from within.

We learn by connecting and resonating with morphic fields and those fields are further altered by our experiences, as additional input. "All organisms are dynamic structures that are continuously recreating themselves under the influence of their own past states".[5] Self reference in nature, demonstrated by input and access to knowing, have enabled creation to continue learning complex and radically new behaviours for its continued survival. These new behaviours spread simultaneously to others of the same species in spite of massive geographical separation, and moves the story of the "100 monkeys" from the realm of myth to reality. New ways of knowing and becoming are available in the capacity for species to tune into their collective fields. . In like fashion, we need to trust our ability to tune in.

"An essential feature of materialism is that it assumes that the physical world is causally closed; in other words, physical processes cannot be subject to causal influences from the soul, self, consciousness, or spirit, or indeed from anything that is, at this stage of our understanding, indefinable in physical terms."[6] In moving past this limited mechanistic perception we realize that the opposite is true and our consciousness and soul's input can and does have power to positively shape our lives to the ways we are meant to be. By connecting with our inner knowing, we can create our destiny, direct ourselves in our own lives and even find the other world (meaning integration of worlds) experiences that many of us seek through counterfeit means. It is in this that we have the confirmation that the universe *is really there for us*. and we belong.

Life lived in this connectedness opens us up to what Mihaly Czikszentmihalyi calls the experience of "flow" where one acts with total involvement and absorption in one's own life. This non-selfish, conscious individualism pursued with unselfconscious assurance produces a holistic sensation of inner satisfaction. "The problem of meaning will then be resolved as the individual's purpose merges with the universal flow"[7] We erect boundaries around us and fortify ourselves, when we feel under threat and our sense of self is weak. Putting ourselves in touch with our own pulse, makes us part of the pulsation of the universe and we come to know our reason for being. Fortress-building then becomes unnecessary. Increased participation in life is enabled by knowing how to be in life.

---

[5] Rupert Sheldrake, *The Presence of the Past* (Rochester, Vermont: Park Street Press, 1995), p.133.

[6] Ibid. p.211.

[7] Mihaly Czikszentmihalyi, *Flow* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1991), p.240.

There is personal and global benefit from humans reclaiming intuition, their way of operating with all senses and being fully available to reality. On a personal scale we are empowered through consolidation with self and this connection further joins us to creation and heals the mechanistic Cartesian split with which we have lived. No longer seeing nature as being apart from ourselves, we are now part of it.

We become creative designers of our own personal and collective future and we can start by playing this out and in acting move it beyond wishes and dreams. We can "accept a co-operative rather than a ruling role in the universe and feel the relief of the exile who is finally returning home."[8] We need to be reacquainted with the power of our intuition, as with an old friend and with it we can create our lives and speak with our authentic voice.

References:

Czikszentmihalyi, M. (1991) *Flow.* New York: Harper Collins Publishers.

Estes, C.P. (1995). *Women Who Run With the Wolves.* New York: Ballantine Books.

Pike, G. and Selby, D. (1995). *Reconnecting.* Surrey, U.K.: World Wide Fund for Nature.

Sheldrake, R. (1995). *The Presence of the Past.* Rochester, Vermont: Park Street Press.

Wagner, B.J. (1979). *Dorothy Heathcote: Drama as a Learning Medium.* London: Stanley Thomes Ltd.

Julia Balaisis, Cardinal Carter Catholic High School, 210 Bloomington Road,
Aurora, L4G 3G8. (905) 727-2455 Fax: (905) 727-9568.

---

[8] Ibid. p.240.

Responding To Diversity: Interviews With The Staff And Faculty Of The Concordia Theatre Department

This paper looks at the responses of ten staff and faculty members of the Concordia Theatre Department to questions concerning inclusive teaching. The interview questions were devised not only to discover if the staff and faculty were utilizing inclusive teaching methods, but also to increase awareness around issues of difference.

About The Department

The Concordia Theatre Department contains five different programs. They are- design, drama in education, performance, playwrighting and major in theatre. The curriculum of these fields crosses many disciplines, although the common denominator among them is theatre. To insure a balanced response and to include as many different learning situations as possible the participants chosen taught in each of these fields. A relative balance was also procured in terms of gender and status (part-time and full-time).

About The Study

The interview questions were designed with the dual purpose of increasing awareness of, and ascertaining to what extent inclusive teaching methods were being used. There were twenty-two questions in all, however for this paper only the responses from several key questions will be given.

Some of the questions pertained specifically to race, gender, and class, while more general questions were worded in terms of 'issues of difference'. The questions ranged from, defining terms such as inclusive education, to how diversity within the classroom had affected the participants' teaching methods, to the participants' use of gender neutral language.

The initial questions asked the participants to define for themselves terms such as diversity and traditional teaching methods. These were important questions because they allowed the interviewer to understand more profoundly the context in which the participant was speaking throughout the whole of the interview. The second group of questions asked the participant to explain how teaching a diverse population had challenged and/or enriched their role as teachers. The next set of questions focused on language and behavior and their roles in the learning environment. Following these the participants were then asked to look at how their choices as teachers and the choices of the institution affected the students. The last set of questions were categorized by the particular program in which the participant taught. These questions were related specifically to their field of study.

The interviews ran from forty-five minutes to an hour and a half in length and all were held in the buildings of the theatre department. Several of the questions were answered with anecdotes and where possible they have been included. However, due to length many of them cannot be included in the paper. In this case, the gist of the answer has been carefully abstracted.

The Participants

In all cases the names of the participants will not be used. Instead they are designated by letter. What follows is a description of each interviewee in terms of their gender, career, and field.

Participant A - Is a female faculty member who has been at the university for over ten years. She teaches drama in education and is the coordinator of that program.

Participant B - Is a female staff member who has been teaching in a formal sense for two years although she has been at the university for longer. She teaches segments of design courses.

Participant C - Is a female faculty member who has been teaching at the university for three years. She teaches both drama in education and playwrighting. She is also the coordinator of the playwrighting program.

Participant D - Is a female part time faculty member. She has been teaching at the university for over twenty years. She teaches performance.

Participant E - Is a female full time faculty member. She has been teaching at the university for less than a year. She teaches design as well as coordinating the program.

Participant F - Is a male full time faculty member who has been teaching at the university for over fifteen years. He teaches performance and a survey course on the theatre. He is the coordinator of the performance program.

Participant G - Is a male full time faculty member and he has been teaching at the university for over thirty years. 'He teaches directing, theatre history, and performance.

Participant H - Is a female full time faculty member. She has been teaching for eighteen years. She teaches voice, singing and acting.

Participant I - Is a male staff member who has been teaching at the university for ten years. He teaches segments of design courses.

Participant J - Is a male faculty member who has been teaching at the university for over ten years.

Note. Only three of the participants have had formal training as teachers.

The Responses

Question: How do you define diversity and what (if any) are its implications within the university classroom?

This question encouraged the participants to look specifically at the setting of the university classroom and how it impacts on a diverse student body. Several of the participants felt one implication of diversity in the classroom was that the teacher should be open to different points of view. However for some felt that this was a natural occurrence that was just part of teaching. Participant A explained,

> I define diversity as paying attention to what is there, I mean diversity isn't imported, it isn't created out of nothing, it exists. It's just finding space and time to acknowledge it's existence. It's there before the word that is for sure.

For Participant D it was not just about finding the time and space to acknowledge diversity but about having the right tools which would speak to the students. In her response she is concerned about her own adaptive skills. She explains,

> I don't know if I had several students from really diverse backgrounds if I could teach them improv which is very American. I think in the future one will have learn how to teach for each of these people. I guess one has to adapt to it. We need to adapt to each circumstance. It would be very hard. For me I would have to start over.

Participant E who is a relatively recent member of the faculty, sees in her class an imminent challenge in terms of diversity which is related to the linguistic environment in which the university is situated.

> I've walked into a situation where even though this is an English university and I'm hired to teach in English, my entire graduating year are francophone. So they speak French continuously; they only speak English when they are directly addressing me, so that does create a problem for me.

Another implication which is brought up in terms of diversity in the classroom is how it intersects with the university as an institution. Participant G describes it thus,

> I define diversity as taking account of the needs of the students without prejudging what they would be, in other words to try and discern what their needs are and to respond to them without preconditions, without presumptions. That will mean that there will be a diverse set of values and needs and opinions and views, perspectives and backgrounds in the classroom. And what you want to try to do is convey or communicate with all of them and to respond to the needs of all of them. Now, obviously one fails; you're not sensitive to everybody's particular needs. And you have to balance that with what the institution has defined as your role in regards to a particular course. In other words, there are some constituent elements of each course, and so that's a given, and while you can approach them differently and deal with them to some extent differently, nonetheless they remain.

In this statement he also discusses the difficulty of meeting the needs of every student as Participant D did.

Another type of balance that was alluded to in the answers was the balance which the teacher has to find in terms of their own position. Participant C describes this balance as,

> ...a number of students have told me that because I try to remain neutral [they feel] that I don't have any opinions or don't care. I do, I just don't think it's always my place to give my opinions as if they're Godlike because I don't believe they are. They're mine and it's one opinion. Thirty people in a classroom with opinions. I'm always trying to find that balance of bringing what I know but not saying this is the gospel truth.

Question: What challenges has diversity brought to you personally as a teacher?

The answer above given by C relates as well to this question in that the diversity of opinions in the classroom have made her look at how she wishes her voice and opinion to be perceived.

Participant J looks at this question in terms of how diversity challenges the teacher to create a dynamic learning environment. He states,

> Part of the challenge is to try and make classes interesting to lots of different people who think differently and work differently and enjoy different kinds of things. So you may be helping one group while the other group is bored. Obviously it's on many different levels, too, lots of things that go on at once, so ultimately I think that a lot of it has to with designing projects that can be worked on at different levels, and class activities that can be multi-faceted, that aren't really straightforward exercises.

This response and the response of Participant B and Participant D related learning styles.

Participant I discusses how the diversity enhances rather than detracts from the work done by his students because of gender differences.

> The first thing that comes to mind is not challenge but the richness that I could get from diversity. I've been brought up in the male world, but what I've learned here that touches the word inclusive, is that women can do things as good as, if not better, than men. Probably differently. Diversity brings about different givings. It's not hard for me to teach in an inclusive fashion, or to include everybody in the classroom. I find it rich for me--probably egotistical here, but that's how I see it.

The connection to the institution and curriculum is again brought up by two participants. Participant F states,

> ...But still, we have this kind of system in all our education where you have courses and you have prerequisites or you have what we believe are qualifications. I'm kind of talking about even before we get into the classroom. Let's take for example-and it's an issue that has come up over the years- the performance program and the whole question of auditioning. The audition is a selection process, and in that process of selection, presumably you have a criteria. So what are you looking for, in terms of that? What are the factors that go into your criteria? Does it have to do with (in terms of performance) the potential for that individual to make a living in the field? Does it have anything to do with the potential for that individual to take or, in your view, be responsive to the kind of program that you offer, and grow as an individual, as a member of the theatre community?

In his statement Participant G looks at how there is reduction of possible differences after they have been 'selected', and this changes how one looks at the diversity within the theatre department.

> Well, I suppose the biggest challenge is to take account of the differences in background and ability and point of view that reside in the various students who come, if we're taking that meaning of diversity or inclusivity. But you know, you teach theatre--there is a narrowing of possibility: that is to say, I don't think the range of needs and viewpoints expressed by theatre students reflects the whole range that exists in the university. Some fields, there is a greater range of diversity in that students have already made some serious choices very often when they come into a theatre department. If they're in the here and now and not dreaming, they're not dedicated to getting as much money in their lives as possible , or they're not power-hungry or insistent on climbing socially--I mean they have adopted some values that are associated with the arts and associated with creativity and the expression of self and so on. And these are very serious choices that you make, and they eliminate other possibilities, it seems to me.

Question: Do you feel that traditional forms of teaching may have a negative impact on students from diverse backgrounds? If so how?

All the participants assumed that when talking about traditional forms of teaching in the university that this meant the lecture format in particular. However there was a difference in how they perceived the lecture format and its impact on a diverse student body. It should be noted that in the theatre department the use of the lecture format is rare. And even when there are large classes in general, some form of active participation by the students is required.

When asked this question Participant C responded as follows,

> I think so. That's why I never liked the lecture format. If I was asked to teach mainly through the lecture format I think I'd work hard to find a way around it. I know some of my colleagues who are given the big lecture style courses try to find a way around it. I think its very exclusive because it is one authority figure up there going "yap, yap, yap", imparting this knowledge that then just has to be regurgitated out of the students' brains and put on paper. That is that banking system of education that I really don't think works.

In contrast Participant H sees the lecture format not as something to be rejected. She explains,

> I think it's great when we live in a time when we can unearth those other opinions and bring them to light, and say okay, we have this wonderful diversity again of viewpoints, from this perspective and that perspective, and that for me is what inclusion is-- it's not saying, well, this one has been done like that, and it's wrong, but this is the right one. That's just as exclusive as anything else.

Participant E points out two of the major problems she sees with the lecture format and its use in a diverse setting.

> There seems to be a lot of research that shows that --from the courses I've taken on learning development--that there are a lot of weaknesses with the lecture format. I don't personally teach in the lecture format much; but certainly for students for whom English is not strong, the lecture format is very difficult. It's a lot easier if somebody doesn't understand your language to show them with the paintbrush what it means. Which is something I have the privilege of being able to do. Also, the linear way of thinking that a lot of lecture format survey-type courses have--apparently is a very masculine way of thinking, that women tend to think in different patterns. And so we as

> women are supposed to be able to learn better from a different pattern of teaching.

In this statement she points out one of the most important things about teaching in fine arts. That communication does not have to happen only through spoken language, it can happen through the use of the body or as she said, a paintbrush. These are as much the tools of the theatre profession as spoken language.

Once again we come back to the importance of the individual teacher and their ability to capture the students' imaginations. Participant D explains their importance in traditional and non-traditional methods.

> I see traditional forms of teaching as negative now. If it's negative it has a bad impact on anybody. Lecturing isn't necessarily boring, but it's safe. If I taught history it might be just dates and numbers but then again there are different ideas of history. You should bring some spirit to the lecture that makes it interesting. A good teacher will necessarily be more vulnerable and in being vulnerable opens a debate and in opening a debate you have to be able to deal with it. You must have good and positive arguments that don't leave people feeling queasy in their stomachs. That's the responsibility of good teaching.

In her statement she makes it clear that good teaching in any form is about being open to other perspectives while still incorporating your own.

Question: When issues of race, gender, or class come up in class discussion how do you handle it?

The responses to this question depended heavily upon if the participant ever felt that these issues had arisen in the classroom situation. The key issue of this question in the minds of many of the participants is whether it was fair or not to give their own opinions. Generally they felt it was necessary. However, both Participant B and Participant G cautioned about using their position as clout. Participant B states,

> I'm not very tolerant of facetious remarks (put-downs) on that level. I usually call those things when I hear them and in terms of the issues themselves I would just encourage people to discuss them thoroughly and not to revert to prejudice-- you know what you know, that kind of attitude. I think it's important to examine things in a deeper way than prejudice tends to admit. That kind of discussion is very revealing and it tends to help people move their positions. You can't squelch it but at the same time you can't let it go by. You can't be too paternalistic about intervention

Participant J discusses how, many times he feels there is no need for intervention and that the students' play a major role in how it is dealt with.

> Most of the time, they're just sort of mild things that can be talked through, and say, hey, we have to look at both sides here, and it depends on how the rest of the class reacts. Most of the time they're pretty helpful in sorting out what's appropriate and what's not, and the peer pressure will generally get things back on track.

An interesting response to this question came from Participant H. She believes that,

> It tends not to come up, because as I say, I think if you just accept other human beings in your space, it's really a non-issue.

When asked specifically about gender issues in casting as a possible area of tension in class she replies that,

> It may come up more in acting classes but not especially for me in voice class. Whenever there's something to work on, a text or whatever, I let whoever's working on it tell me what their needs are, and then I address that. It's not something I impose on them.

In contrast to H's statement Participant A feels that sometimes it is important for her to give her opinion. As she explains here,

> Well I let the conversation go along. Because I happen to be very political I tend to enter the conversation and I very often feel that if my fairly left wing opinions are in the room then what kind of room does that leave for other types of opinions. All kinds of things can be said you know but I guess there are certain things that I must challenge in the classroom. It may not be fair.

Question: Do you believe that it is part of your responsibility as a teacher to be sensitive and knowledgeable about issues of difference?

In most cases this question was answered in the affirmative. For several participants it was a matter of being both sensitive to issues but also to have a firm grasp of the subject matter. Participant J describes it thus,

> It's a question of, I guess, emphasis. It think it's probably most important that the teacher understand the subject matter, and understand how to communicate it and those kind of things. I can imagine a situation in which you'd know all about how to communicate , but you had nothing to communicate, so what's the point? So there has to be a balance between the two. Hopefully the teacher is the expert at both, and good teachers are, but they're also pretty rare that way.

Participant C answers the question by stating that,

> I am not as knowledgeable as I could be but that's okay because of the teachers I like to emulate that's how it works. You learn together with the students. What I do know I really know well and I can impart that stuff.

Her response reiterates yet again the belief that a teacher must be open to what the students bring into the classroom.

Summary

From reading this paper, one can fairly well assume that most of the staff and faculty interviewed had an grasp of the ideologies behind inclusive education. When asking the participants to define inclusive education the answers were very similar. However in several cases there was a slight uneasiness with the word either because they felt it was ambiguous or they felt it was part of a fad.

The responses towards questions that dealt specifically with race, gender and class had some common themes among them. The first being that gender seemed to be the most understood issue in terms of the Theatre Department. This can be explained by two factors: the first is that in the last couple of years there has been a far greater number of female theatre students than male. It has challenged the department to find ways of casting and selecting scripts that will include the population of female students. The second reason is that gender issues in the theatre profession are quite well known. Such issues as pay rate for different fields, depending on if they are male or female dominated areas. An example of this is that in general costume designers are paid less that set designers.

In contrast to the clear responses on gender issues, issues around race seemed to elude many of the participants in how they could possibly deal with them. This may lie in the area of representation in the theatre department. None of the interviewees were visible minorities so in a personal sense they may not have been able to relate directly to this issue.

Issues surrounding class came up mainly around the idea of having enough money for supplies. Only two participants felt it was a non-issue. However in most cases it was addressed as a pertinent subject.

The results of these interviews cannot be tabulated in any sort of quantitative manner, yet the information does speak of concerns which arise when dealing with diverse populations. Theatre is a profession that relies greatly on teamwork and it is clear that the dynamic of each group is dependent upon a certain level of understanding amongst its members. People who teach theatre need to understand that part of their job is to show students positive ways of working in group situations. Inclusive teaching is without a doubt a tool that can assist in this area.

References Used To Compile The Interview Questions

Boal, A. (1992). *Games For Actors And Non-Actors*. New York: Routledge.

Border, L.L.B. and Van Note Chism, N. (ed.) (1992). *Teaching for Diversity*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

hooks, b. (1994). *Teaching To Transgress: Education as the Practice Of Freedom*. New York: Routledge.

I would also like to acknowledge, Kit Brennan, Nicole Saltiel, Heather MacKenzie, and the staff and students of the Concordia Theatre Department for their help and support in compiling this study.

Octavia James 2 New Haven Drive. Toronto, Ontario M5N1H7. (416)489-4839

Women Artists throughout History

As an attempt to supplement the Ontario Ministry of Education document *Viewing Art for Intermediate and Senior Divisions* (1990) I have produced this additional document *Women Artists throughout History*. According to the Model Unit: Women in Visual Arts from the Ministry document:

> "It is essential that the contribution of women artists, both past and present, be recognised and given a place in Ontario's visual arts curriculum....In order to disprove the myth that women are incapable of excellence in visual arts, their work must be made more accessible, and their significant contributions to the history of art have to be recognised." (p. 81)

Throughout the history of art the focus has constantly been on "great artists" and their "masterpieces". These "great artists" were invariably male, and women artists who rose to the notice of art historian were never included in any discussions of greatness.

The discipline of art history has lagged far behind many other disciplines in the general movement towards a broader vision of history and society, which has been introduced and incorporated by feminist theorists. Feminist concerns of race, cultural, socio-economic experience, in addition to gender, all contribute to a deconstruction and a re-evaluation of the histories of art and the art works produced by women.

Feminist art historians are aware of the traditions and selective judgements of past art historical practice and research, and seek to offer an alternative perspective through which to examine the images women produce in art and the contributions of women artists, all of which have until the 1970's, been neglected in this field.

According to Hughes, Lipke, MacKay, Mullen, Sacca, Tenhaaf and Tweedi in *Feminism and Fine Arts Education* (1990) there is a strong tendency in the 1990's to claim that the integration of women in the arts has been completed. Many young women are unaware of the past struggles toward equity and assume that we have an equitable education system and in fact live in an ideal society. However, their own experience in art courses from primary level right through to university, their exposure to art predominantly feature male artists and give them a skewed perspective on the relevance of women in art. (p. 45)

According to Peterson and Wilson (1976):

> The mirroring of art is a frequent theme in art and social histories, but because women's works are rarely considered in them, as any quick survey of the standard texts will confirm, it has been, more often than not, a distorting mirror.

The most important aspect of feminist interventions into art history and art education then, is to promote awareness. Awareness of the limitations of historical research, awareness of women artists who have gone before, and awareness of the activities of contemporary women and the artwork they produce. Through these kinds of interventions we may come to realise that "representation carries ideology" and that their own work and the work of other women is a valuable and often neglected contribution to our society. (Lipke et. al. p. 45) This supplementary document *Women Artists through History* is an effort to help teachers and their students to become aware of the achievements in art and art history through time. According to Peterson and Wilson:

> Art Reference books are not compiled with women in mind, and even teachers of goodwill find themselves at a loss to tell their students where to go for guidance. Again and again we have seen students, originally enthusiastic about doing their work on a woman artist, become discouraged and fall back on more conventional and feasible projects.

Many arts educators have made a diligent effort to introduce women artists into their teaching practice. However, historically, the resources to access this important body of work have not been available. In 1993 Elizabeth Martin of City School and Vivian Meyer of Contact School in Toronto produced a document for the Toronto Board of Education entitled *Eighty-Three Women Artists: A Resource Kit for Art Teachers*. In 1995 in consultation with the Lincoln County Board of Education's Curriculum Development Arts Co-ordinator Mac Dodge, I decided to produce a similar document to be used for the Lincoln Board. Presented here is a slide kit with commentaries on European and North American women artists from the Renaissance to the present, for use as a supplement to the list of key works of art provided in the current Ministry guidelines.

My background on the subject of women in art history has its basis in an art history degrees and then in art education degree. I have taught courses in Women in Art History for Brock University Women's Studies Programme and Visual Arts Programme as well as Gender Issues in the Master's of Education Programme at Brock University.

This document *Women Artists throughout History* (1996) includes biographies of ninety-seven women artists including fifty-five European and American artists and forty-two Canadian artists. The artists represented in this document are chosen specifically from the western art tradition, since that is the focus of art history in the Viewing Art document. There is however, a certain deficiency one must acknowledge in the focus on western art, ignoring other cultures apart from western European and North American.

Each artist in this document is represented by a single slide/work of art which is also included in the document package and a page including biographical information. In addition to these biographies a small discussion of the individual work included at the end of each biography. Also incorporated in the document, after the listing of artists and biographical information, are a series of in-class projects and activities to assist teachers utilising the package. These in-class projects and activities include ways in which art teachers can utilise the resource package by incorporating these artists with their regular art history projects or by grouping the artists by style, medium, subject matter etc.. A listing of suggested reading and community resource people completes to package.

This package is available through the Lincoln County Board of Education and also through Rodman Hall Arts Centre, and will provide teachers in both the elementary and secondary levels a opportunity to explore a variety of women artists both historical and contemporary, with an important focus on Canadian artists.

References

Hughes, L., Lipke, K., MacKay, B., Mullen, C., Sacca, E., Tanhaaf, N., & Tweedi, K. (1990). Feminism in fine arts education. *Studies in Art Education, II* (1).

Peters, K. & Wilson, J.J.. (1976). *Women Artists Recognition and Reappraisal From the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*. New York: Harper & Row.

Pollock, G. (1988). *Vision and difference: Femininity, feminism and the histories of art.* New York: Routledge.

Viewing Art A Resource Guide for Intermediate and Senior Divisions (1990). Ontario Ministry of Education.

Debra Attenborough, ***Rodman Hall Arts Centre***, 109 St. Paul Cres., St. Catharines,
Ontario L2S 1M3, Tel: (905) 684-2925 Fax: (905) 682-4733

Beyond Political Correctness: Meeting the Needs of Aboriginal Students in our Public Schools
OR
If We're All Really Different, Aren't We All Really the Same?

I was afforded the privilege this year of leading a seminar course at Brock University, through the Canadian Studies Program, on Native Issues in Canada. The class of twelve was evenly divided between Native and non-Native students (the first time such equality has ever been achieved for any course offered at Brock) and was self-reflexive to the extent that one of our issues up for discussion was education, at the elementary, secondary, and post-secondary levels, and how best to include Native issues within these systems. The course itself is a second year research course which just happens to be focussed on Native issues this year, and probably next year as well. After that, the focus will be changed to some other topic seen as "Canadian", and at that point there will be no specific courses within the Canadian Studies program devoted exclusively to Native issues within Canada, even though the indigenous people of this land have by far the longest and most varied history as dwellers on it. I find this fact disturbing, for reasons which will be made clear through the rest of this paper. The reluctance of educational institutions in this country to foster understanding of both historic and current dilemmas and triumphs of our indigenous peoples and their way of life is a product of the blatant racism of these institutions, based on the patriarchal hegemonic notion of "the one way", a notion which has always involved turning Indians into Englishmen.

There is more than one way. The following is a response by a white female student in that class to some of the insights provided by the Native students whom I taught and learned from during the past year:

> I found it odd at first that so many of the Native students in this course spoke so openly and honestly about their feelings. Their openness and thoughtfulness towards others was also very new to me within the university classroom environment, where we all started out as complete strangers. As the course proceeded, I came to see the inner strength that the Native students possessed. They inspired me. Although it is evident that they are still hurting and dealing with what is being done to their people, they never allowed this hurt or anger to control them. They still held on to their belief that we must all love each other and help one another to understand. Their confidence in themselves and their knowledge of what they truly feel has enabled me to look inward to see who I truly am. It is very seldom that an academic course at the university level teaches someone something this important.

For at least 150 years the Canadian government has adopted a "Lo, the poor Indian" attitude towards education for our Native peoples, striving always to "raise them out of ignorance" to some mythical plateau of white competence, when all the while our political and educational institutions could have been and *should* have been learning at least as much as they taught. The sad result of past practice is the current dilemma faced by Native students at all levels of our educational system because they are caught between cultural and spiritual traditions of their people and the exigencies of modern post-industrial life in this land which is their home.

Like many of these students, I too have been caught between two worlds: my father IS an Englishman, my mother an Ojibway from Wikwemikong Reserve on Manitoulin Island. I was adopted in infancy by a Eurocanadian family who were not told of my Native

159

ancestry. I would not have known myself to this day, had I not searched for, and ultimately found, my birth mother, when I was thirty years of age. Since that time, I have made every effort to recover my Native heritage and to recover FROM my early education, a product of institutionalised racism and "the one way" of 1950s Canada.

My adoptive parents were very well-to-do, and they were also Roman Catholic; therefore, I was sent to a private girls' boarding school run by nuns whose advertised purpose was to produce "ladies" who would be strong Catholic wives and mothers (or possibly nuns!) with perfect table manners and a thorough understanding of the place reserved for ladies within patriarchy. The reason I was adopted by Catholics is that my mother's Ojibway nation had been previously educated and "converted" by Catholic missionaries, as part of the colonization process. Through the residential school system Ojibway boys and girls were made to understand that the spiritual practices of their people, going back thousands of years, were "savage", "pagan", and sure to lead to an eternity of hellfire. Roman Catholicism was "civilized"; Native sprituality was not.

And so they "converted", and when my mother needed the help of a white institution because her family had moved off the reserve to Toronto, and she was pregnant with what white society deemed an "illegitimate" child, she went to the Catholic Children's Aid, whose workers made sure that I would be raised in a good Catholic environment, in the tradition of all my "converted" Ojibway ancestors.

But why, you might ask, didn't my mother simply go "home" to Manitoulin and leave me with relatives, who didn't share the white patriarchs' views on legitimacy? The answer to that question has everything to do with acculturation and ethnostress, continuing problems for Native peoples across Canada. As she explained it to me when I asked, my mother had been told by *her* mother that Indian people were hated by whites, and stereotyped as drunkards and savages. For Indian women, my grandmother explained, the stereotype particularly involved a sexuality component: Native women were born sluts. And so, she added, the absolute worst thing that any of her daughters could do would be to "get caught", to conceive a child out of wedlock, to bear what white law deemed an "illegitimate" child. So when my mother fell in love with a returning serviceman just after World War II, and shortly thereafter found herself pregnant and him gone, she was too much in terror of her mother's acculturated views to reveal her situation, and chose instead to approach the Catholic Children's Aid in Toronto. They were most accommodating, encouraging my mother to write letters to her mother which described her job in another town, and which a helpful member of the society took out of town to mail, thereby keeping up the lie. And later, when two likely looking adoptive parents appeared on the scene, no mention was made to them of my true ancestry; "English and French" is what they said.

Did they think I could "pass"? Did they see this episode as some kind of "favour" they were doing for me? Did they think their lies would "save" me from myself? my mother's past? my racial history? Did they think that their erasure of my identity could somehow make me Eurocanadian and therefore acceptable to my adoptive family and white Canada? And did they anticipate the kind of education I would receive as a tool of oppression, a means of beating out of me any lingering "savagery" while instilling all civilized virtues of "the one way"?

It is necessary for me to provide these details of my location in order to make clear what I mean by the term "education in racism", and the effects on Native children of such an education. When I attended the Catholic girls' private school, and gave myself up to education in Catholic values and ladylike behaviour, I also gave myself up to assault by the forces of a dominant culture which despised everything I was. To be sure, I did not know, in the cognitive sense, that I was a Native child; I did know that my hair was black and my skin was fairly brown, especially during the summer months when my Irish grandmother used to say to me, "You look just like a little Indian!" I also knew that I needed to be outdoors and felt cooped up in classrooms. I loved to read, but I wanted to do it outside, under a tree. And one of my favourite non-fiction books as a child was about Native traditions with illustrations of crafts such as moccasins, beadwork, and buckskin clothing. So I knew that I loved Native traditions without knowing why.

But the nuns at my convent school were really little different from the nuns who ran residential schools of the same era. They were prepared to teach all us little rich kids that our parents were running things for several good reasons: they were central to the white, Christian patriarchal system which had successfully demonized brown skins, non-Christian religions, and even, during the witch craze of early modern times, many of its own white women; they were the epitome of civilization, the very acme of industry, the soul of order. Indians, on the other hand, were savage, lazy, and disorderly, even chaotic, by nature. They scalped their enemies, and they tortured and burned at the stake the sainted missionaries, Brebeuf and company, who had come to save their souls and lead them on the gentle path of righteousness. Although ignorant and stupid, these savages were cunning by nature, the type who jump out at you from behind trees with flashing tomahawks and blood-curdling cries. It had been necessary to clear them from the land in order for farms and villages to prosper in this new country, a place which, like its original inhabitants, needed to be "tamed" and brought under the rule of law and order.

You get the picture. And you also know that the nuns, whether they taught in residential schools or in high toned girls' boarding schools like mine, differed very little in their approach to Canadian history from public school educators of the same era. The US and THEM mentality endured in '50s thinking, even if US meant "Catholic" rather than "Protestant". But surely things are different today. Teachers have been educated against racism, textbooks are inclusive, positive images of Canada's Native peoples abound, even within popular culture. Right?

One of my students in the Native Issues course works as an Education Officer for Native children within the public school system. In March of this year she spent a morning with a grade seven class making a presentation on stereotyping as it affects Native children within the school setting. As a preliminary exercise she asked a group of ten students to make a list of attributes they thought of when they thought of "Indians" as a group. Among the responses were the following:

8 out of 10 thought they drank to excess
5 out of 10 thought they did drugs as well
5 out of 10 mentioned long hair and/or braids
5 out of 10 said Indians don't pay taxes
5 out of 10 mentioned dancing in a circle

Some of the students referred to Native songs as "making noises" or as "wa wa wa wa", and said that they dressed funny while they sang and danced. One student "had heard that" Natives are violent and another that they scalp people. A third was sure that they all lived in tipis. Only one student in ten thought that Natives were "religious" and "respectful" while several thought that they were "lazy".

Clearly then, whatever is being taught about Native people and Native issues within the public education system of this province is not challenging racist stereotypes which are as ingrained as ever, and from a very early age. The question is, how do we reverse the trend? What should we, as educators, be doing to eliminate racist attitudes in our classrooms, and to provide a healthy atmosphere within which our Native students can develop and foster their own self-confidence?

One of the answers to this dilemma has been a form of segregation: removing Native students from the classroom for separate education in their cultural traditions and/or for group and individual work with esteem issues. This answer says that Native students are different and need to be treated differently in order to flourish in the white-designed education system. And when I think back to my own day-dreaming and need to escape the classroom when I was a child I know that there is value in this response by educators. All too often, however, Native students resist the self-identification which is necessary in order for them to be a part of these programs, *because* of the prevalence of racist attitudes within their schools. Or they sign up for a program at a particular time, and then simply "forget" to show up for it. Segregation is being used less and less for all special populations within our public schools. Why should it be used more now for Native students?

In my recent teaching experience at the post-secondary level, the most important thing that happened, clearly, was the exchange of views as well as information. While Native students learned the sources of their oppression -- the Indian Act, for example -- white students learned Native traditions such as governing by consensus. Native students tended to give more than they got in these exchanges; for example, two students from Six Nations Reserve were able to explain why their families refused to support the elected band council on that reserve, and to show us how their traditional council, chosen by the women of the Six Nations, had a history going back at least five hundred years, longer than any other government on earth. The central learning experience here was in this kind of exchange, and in the openness to feeling noted by the white student in her journal entry.

We need that kind of openness at all levels of our education system, and we need to stop thinking of ourselves as purely teachers as distinct from learners. We also need to explore alternative learning styles, not only for Native students but for all students; after all, everyone is different from everyone else in some way, according to our gifts. A friend of mine, who teaches grade 6, invited a retired Ojibway woman into her class to teach the children how to make dream catchers. The grade sixes loved the experience overall, but my friend made the stunning observation that those of her class who normally had the hardest time learning abstract knowledge were the quickest to pick up this craft-making technique, while those students whom she had seen as her brightest were often unable to complete the project, and complained that "their fingers wouldn't work right". Clearly there were different kinds of intelligence at work here.

Similarly, when I gave my class options for presenting information, some chose to write formal essays, while others chose artistic, musical, or culinary and craft projects, each according to his or her gifts. This range of variation held true for *all* the classes I taught this past year, not just the one involving Native students. My point is that if we're all really different, aren't we all really the same? Don't we *all* need learning options? Don't we all need the opportunity to teach others what only we know according to our gifts? Instead of segregation for some students who have been labelled as different, shouldn't we be working individually and together in an environment which takes account of different learning styles as well as different cultural heritage and personality traits?

When I reflected on my own experience, as an acculturated Native child so long ago, and as a somewhat hesitant teacher this past year attempting to provide a learning environment for my students, I was able to see some practices which need to be incorporated in the current classroom envirnment, and others, currently followed, which should be eliminated from those classrooms.

My first area of concern is curriculum development: we need texts and other materials which accurately represent the experiences of indigenous peoples in Canada and elsewhere. We need to eliminate Eurocentric histories which view indigenous peoples as coming into existence only when Europeans "discover"them! We need input from our own Native people in the development of these curricula. Such input can come from teachers of aboriginal ancestry, but it may also be necessary, especially in the initial stages, to solicit input from elders and traditional teachers of the First Nations. We also need these teachers to develop workshops for all teachers who will be working with these curricula.

Second, we need ongoing professional development, both at colleges of education and on the job, to sensitize all teachers to issues facing Native students of all ages in our classrooms. We also need continuous reinforcement, through professional development, of the need and practice of alternate learning styles for *all* students, and the encouragement of alternate forms of sharing our learning.

Finally, we need to look seriously at the extent to which formal institutionalized education works as a prop of the dominant culture. We need to critique these institutions from a Nativist perspective in the same way that we continue to critique them as feminists. In the 1950s of my childhood education, "the one way" was white, middle class (but upwardly mobile) and male. Everyone else was marginalized. Forty years later there is a developing awareness of the people on those margins, but there has not been anything like a warm appreciative invitation to move a little closer to the centre of the Canadian page. White middle class women have made some strides, as we know; women of colour, black adolescent males, and particularly Native peoples of all ages and both genders, have been pushed farther and farther to the margins even as their problems become a part of the Canadian consciousness.

Native students at all levels of our education system are the most likely to be absent, to drop out at an early age, to be placed in special classes when they do come to school. They are also often the shyest students in any given classroom situation. We need to find ways to make these children feel comfortable, to be "at home" in the classroom, as they are in their own homes. To do that we need to eliminate racism in word and deed from our teaching and our socialization techniques.

All of my students in the Native Issues course wrote journals last year. One of my Native students concluded her final journal entry with a statement referring to a situation most of us would take for granted. "Being in this class," she said, "was the one time all week when I knew that I could be myself on the Brock campus." Why was the rest of our educational space so unwelcoming to this student? And how can we make these spaces safe for Native students in the future?

The time for studies is over, and implementation needs to begin. *Because* we're all different, we need to provide everyone with the same safety and opportunities for growth rather than pushing "the one way" down unhappy throats.

REFERENCES

All my quotations are taken from confidential journals of my students which they wrote for Canadian Studies 2M93, The Native Presence in Canada, at Brock University, 1995-96.

Professor Paula Bourner, Brock University, 500 Glenridge Avenue, St. Catharines, Ontario, L2S 3A1, (905)688-5550, Ext.3577, no FAX, pbourner@spartan.ac.brocku.ca

Pre-service Students' Perceptions of Gender Equity Issues

Introduction

Recent documents by the Ontario Ministry of Education and Training such as *Engendering Equity: Transforming Curriculum* (1995) and *The Common Curriculum of Ontario* (1994) challenge teachers to develop gender-fair practices which eliminate stereotypical bias and provide inclusive curriculum. These publications encourage the adoption of teaching styles which remove gender barriers and create climates that supports the self worth and dignity of all students. A typical school response to such directives often includes mandating obligatory gender neutrality within classrooms (Robertson, 1992a). However, such simplistic solutions merely encourage random acts of compliance and a superficial posture of neutrality or else tend to generate a certain degree of resistance and misunderstanding among teachers. To date, it is questionable that such measures have brought about significant changes in teachers' attitudes and values or have created a broader range of educational opportunities and long-term outcomes for students.

Educational researchers generally agree that gender bias, dominated by white, male, middle-class experience, has been an integral part of Western culture schools (e.g., Acker, 1994; Delamont, 1990; Gilligan, 1993; Orenstein, 1994; Pipher, 1994; Sadker & Sadker, 1994; and Spender, 1988). Related to this, postmodern feminists such as Hoffman (1995) urge us to "unmask the deceptions of naive realism and identify what the hidden systems are that constitute our perceptions of social reality" (p. 46). Robertson (1992b) claims that one such deception stems from the infuriating ignorance of "the compounding effects of gender stereotypes, gender-linked characteristics, unequal distribution of family and domestic responsibilities, and differential valuing of the skills and abilities of men and women" which results in "perpetuating a masculinist system in which those who 'exploit' the environment are valued more than those who cope with, shape or respond to the world around them (p. 47). The cultural endorsement of such values as universals has created a hidden system which privileges males and contradicts women's subjective realities. As a result, many adults are left with a legacy of unexamined assumptions and attitudes about gender stereotyping in schools. These powerful epistemological barriers serve to filter information and cause teachers to resist change and perpetuate the status quo.

This paper examines the gender-related perceptions held by thirty-five adults who were enrolled in a one year pre-service teacher certification program in Ontario. As part of a social studies course assignment, I challenged these students to reflect on their understandings of gender equity, to recall their own experiences in school, and also to consider curricula implications as future teachers. I hoped this exercise would help them to realize that learning was socially constructed, meaning-oriented, and collaborative. In other words, I invited them to redefine their own relationships to knowledge about teaching and learning through the lens of gender. What would happen to equity policies when these people crossed the bridge from student to teacher? Would they see the need to change gender-biased practices endorsed by their culture or would they unwittingly or deliberately perpetuate the status quo?

The perceptions and patterns that emerged from the critical analysis of the class discourses and written summations about gender equity will be highlighted in the first section of the paper. Direct quotations have been included to enhance the voices of these student teachers as well as to emphasize the interactive, participatory nature of our classes. Implications for faculties of education with respect to the fostering of commitment and awareness in pre-service students to gender-fair education will be considered in the concluding section of the paper.

Perceptions and Impressions: Beginning with Self

From the outset, most of these pre-service students felt confident and well informed about concepts such as 'gender equity' and 'affirmative action'. As they shared their personal understandings, the words "equal" and "neutral" emerged repeatedly, with no clear distinction between terms such as 'equality' and 'equity'. They assumed that if expectations were "equalized", then learning, sports and career opportunities would become "fair" for both sexes. Such a 'neutral' stance would allow them to remove themselves from their gendered bodies, ignore their own sex-role contexts, and make objective decisions on behalf of the students in their classes. By identifying themselves as part of the younger generation, they again indicated a confidence in their own awareness, knowledge and instincts which would help them to tackle gender issues in schools and to deal with these appropriately.

Without exception, these students placed gender equity issues high on the list of priorities facing teachers today. In order to nurture the self-esteem of all children and to provide opportunities for them to utilize their strengths and interests to attain their full potentials, these student teachers felt a strong sense of responsibility to dismantle or counteract personal and systemic gender barriers at home and in schools, especially in the primary grades. Their intentions were to become sensitive role models, committed change agents and consciously vigilant teachers with respect to gender-free curricula. However, after seven weeks in classrooms, many were left with the impression that "traditional views are still prevalent in schools" and that "things haven't changed very much". Their idealism about gender equity had been shaken and they were skeptical about the effective board initiatives.

In order to provoke deeper inquiries, I invited these students to describe the people and events that had significantly shaped their beliefs about equity issues. Surprisingly, they indicated that teachers and university professors had been their primary sources of influence. Impressions were significantly shaped by courses in sociology and women's issues as well as by recent pre-service programs. In addition, role modelling of mothers and egalitarian relationships of parents was frequently mentioned as a significant source of inspiration. Television, newspapers, books and women's magazines also served as strong cultural filters. It would appear that these students trusted what they read or were taught rather than what they observed or experienced directly.

Although the majority of students were female, only a few felt that gender had not affected their own learning in school. If anything, they expressed guilt about receiving more than their fair share of attention when they excelled in male-oriented subject areas. However, several of these women remember witnessing others who were unfairly treated by teachers because they were girls. Some even mentioned being disadvantaged at home, as daughters, in comparison with their brothers. For example, they had less tuition money available to them and were expected to take more responsibility for household chores and eventually to follow traditional career paths which would be compatible with their future roles as wives and mothers. In retrospect, others in the group thought it was possible that they has not realize what was happening at the time or simply accepted gender-biased behaviour, expectations and course content as 'normal'. "It was the way things were!"

Most students in the class did have significant recollections of being disadvantaged in school because of their gender. They spoke of being "intimidated and turned off" by subtle messages that "girls do not belong" or "girls are dumb". They remember "not being given the time of day by high school teachers" and feeling "belittled and discouraged from taking the lead" in subjects such as mathematics, science, shop and physical education. The men in our group drew attention to reverse discrimination. They remembered feeling uncomfortable in traditionally female dominated activities at school such as skipping rope, figure skating, art classes and gymnastics. Consequently, they "lost interest and quit". In addition, the male students pointed out that classes in the faculty of education were dominated by women who were often less than inviting to their male colleagues. They also expressed their frustration about hiring restrictions, teaching expectations, and double standards for men in the primary division. Gender was never acknowledged, however, as a privilege or an advantage by anyone in the class.

The Influence of Associate Teachers in Practicum Placements

A sense of disappointment, shock or anger was expressed about the fact that associate teachers and professors did not always model appropriate behaviour with respect to gender equity. For example, during teaching blocks students noticed that boys often received more attention during classes than girls did and they were appalled by the sexist language used by a few professors. They questioned why boys were still exclusively called upon to set up chairs in the gym while girls were expected to organize storage cupboards and answer the secretary's phone. Several students even pointed out that children were typically dismissed or asked to line up by gender.

In spite of this scattered evidence of traditional gender stereotyping in schools, the student teachers still felt that the majority of their school placements offered positive examples of gender equity practices and that "equal experiences were available for boys and girls". They spoke of associates who made a point of openly discussing gender stereotyping with children and who turned insensitive behaviour and problems into opportunities for consciousness-raising sessions. They noted that such exemplary teachers took a deliberate, proactive stand on teasing or aggressive behaviour as well as on passive, overly dependent behaviours or "learned helplessness". Some associates not only attempted to "degender math and science" but also encouraged non-traditional roles at learning centres and organized students into co-operative, mixed gender groupings. Students were also impressed with the efforts made by associates to avoid learning materials that perpetuated gender stereotypes and to draw attention to the contributions of influential women as well as those of men. For example, one student remarked that in a religion class her associate "emphasized that women also walked with Jesus ".

Although it was encouraging to note the majority of positive practicum experiences related to gender equity in comparison to negative ones , it was still very disconcerting to hear that gender equity was "a non-issue" for most school associates. In such schools gender-free policies and practices were either "very casual" or "not evident at all". Student teachers were left with the impression that stereotypical behaviours and responses were either "not noticed, down-played or deliberately ignored". This perceived lack of attention was as significant to student teachers as the proactive or inappropriate responses were.

Ideal Goals and Intentions

The student teachers I worked with all felt strongly committed to addressing gender equity openly and deliberately as well as to modelling appropriate and exemplary bias-free behaviour themselves. They adopted attitudes which they observed, respected and thought worked well in their teaching blocks. They were equally resolved to treat all children with compassion and sensitivity and to respect the uniqueness and self-worth of everyone. This would include avoiding or altering gender-biased language and stereotypical comments or compliments as well as responses which they felt to be detrimental to students' sense of well-being or personal esteem. Most of all, they were determined to stay aware of current information about gender issues and continually self-monitor their own actions and those of other teachers. They had obviously set high standards and ideals for themselves which deserved to be supported.

I also noticed that students had internalized specific gender-free teaching strategies from course work and classroom practice. For example, they recognized the need to celebrate similarities as well as distinctions between girls and boys. The also intended to avoid segregating students on the basis of gender for sports, learning activities or seating arrangements in favour of co-ed groupings in the classroom and the gymnasium. One student indicated that she would establish "a gender credo" on the first day of school. Others emphasized that they would try to dispel myths about gendered roles through special events such as career days, science and technology exhibits, family studies and guest speakers. Based on their professional readings, most students mentioned that they would build their own collection of children's picture books and literature which would include both male and female characters in non-traditional, positive and engaging roles as well as books which supported alternate family structures, role reversals, and strong images of the elderly (Davies, 1993 and Mullen, 1994). Some students wanted to encourage dramatic role play in order to promote both the traditional and non-traditional interests, goals and ambitions of their students. It was also important for them to provide reference materials that included the history of women as well as men. Above all, the majority of the group focused on helping children become critical consumers by examining media messages and their use of rhetorical and persuasive techniques.

It was interesting to note that during our course discussions these students were unable to agree on the merits of deliberate lessons about gender equity in their own classrooms. Some of the group believed that it was important to heighten the gender sensitivity of children by bringing these issues out in the open as they arose and to involve children in the direct teaching of prepared activities about this topic. Others in the class felt strongly that an over-emphasis on gender issues might result in increasing distinctions and discriminations based on gender. This latter group thought that a "gender neutral" classroom where gender was down-played and every student was given "equal" attention and opportunities would be more advantageous. This lack of consensus gave rise to rich discussions about the misunderstood notion of 'neutrality' for the sake of 'equality' as well as about occasions when equal treatment or mixed gender groupings were disadvantageous and inappropriate.

Voicing Their Questions and Concerns

As part of the course assignment, students were also encouraged to voice their concerns about gender equity. For the most part, they expressed a reluctance to endorse an "extreme ideology" about gender-related issues in case they might be negatively perceived as "radical feminists". They were also cautious about the risks of "a backlash" by "going overboard and overdoing it" and they definitely opposed "quota filling at the expense of merit or performance". A few of the students were fearful of reverse discrimination by replacing one set of biases with another. For example, one of the female students expressed concern about equal opportunities for her sons in a "male-bashing environment". Another woman in the class worried about female students who might be "genuinely oriented toward traditional house-wife roles" and "forced into a masculine way of being". She questioned whether the "feminine" ambitions, interests and needs of some girls would be inappropriately rechannelled, discouraged or ridiculed for the sake of gender equity. They also wondered whether equity practices might neglect to foster pride in the uniqueness of the sexes and result in devaluing or ignoring "the positive and distinct characteristics of males and females" and fail to recognize the important contributions resulting from gender diversity.

Some of the students in the pre-service course were also concerned about the fact that gender equity was no longer considered "a problem" in schools or that such problems were thought to have already been resolved. They also worried about the legacy of oppression they carried with them from their own past experiences. They wondered why so little had been done to reverse this gendered mind-set or to compensate them for the possible limiting of their opportunities. Students voiced their impressions that many practicum teachers "do not really care about gender equity" or "fail to notice the subtle messages and biased responses" that were liberally sprinkled throughout the school day. It was also disturbing to hear them criticize inconsistent behaviour and conflicting messages about gender-free curricula even within the pre-service program itself.

In the end, pre-service students wonder if it is possible to penetrate such deeply entrenched socialization structures in schools and progress toward gender-free curricula. They still question how far gender equity can advance in a culture where so many authority figures, school administrators and parents still operate on strong sexist premises which continue to send out mixed messages to children and students. They asked why more was not being done in the faculty of education to provide consistent and appropriate role-modelling as well as a heightened awareness of current, practical classroom strategies. These are significant questions that warrant further consideration.

Discussion and Implications

By encouraging student teachers to consider gender issues in schools from their own experiences, the self "becomes a locus for the intersection of various signifying systems. The individual perspective (situatedness) becomes an important consideration in determining how knowledge is constituted" (Hoffman, 1995, p. 45). Working through this reflective exercise helped my students to realize that they were caught within conflicting systems based on gendered experience, student experience and now teacher experience as well.

As they stood at these perilous crossroads struggling to ground themselves in a vortex of change, we tried to name the contradictions and gave them a face.

Deeply embedded in the culture of schools is the pervasive notion that teachers are self-sufficient, knowledgeable and certain. They are seldom encouraged to seek change collaboratively or given the autonomy or opportunity to bring it about. As a result of such 'de-skilling', Cochran-Smith & Lytle (1993) observe that teachers are often hesitant about seeking help, going public with their questions, or challenging curricula practices in order to avoid appearing uncertain, uncooperative or incompetent. Perhaps my students had already internalized this mind-set and the confidence they exhibited in their ability to practice gender equity was a deliberate attempt to appear ready to take their place in the classroom. However, this sense of satisfaction and ready acceptance worried me to some degree. I viewed their willing complacency as a possible barrier to further inquiry, commitment and growth. For example, I wondered how open these students would be to the viewpoint that 'equity' was not the same as 'equality'. Could these students be convinced that the quotas they resented did not require lowering standards or reversing discrimination practices? Educational researchers point out that different teaching approaches are often required in order to offer males and females equal and fair learning opportunities in the classroom (e.g. Belenky et al, 1986; Gilligan, 1982; Gilligan, Lyons & Hanmer, 1990; and Lewis 1990). How open would these students be to continually self-monitoring themselves?

The research of Cochran-Smith & Lytle supports my belief that pre-service students should be encouraged to view teaching, not as a technical skill to copy from others, but rather as an intellectual pursuit which they must create themselves and continually work to monitor, challenge and revise. Such a pedagogy involves the deliberative ability to reflect on practice, seek meaning and change in their work, deconstruct and reinterpret perspectives, create curricula, make choices, manage ambiguity and take ownership of their own teaching. Consistent with this philosophy, the underlying premise in my course was that an effective social studies program must focus on the development of critical thinking skills. Contrary to this notion, however, many pre-service students seemed to prefer modelling the teaching style of others, albeit effective or otherwise.

Most of the women in the course were able to recall how their femaleness had been a liability at some point in their own schooling. Consistent with current feminist research, most of the female students associated their gender with learning "constraints" at some point in their schooling (Blair, Holland & Sheldon, 1995; Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Calabrese & Anderson, 1986; and Orenstein, 1994). In contrast, however, the men in the group did not mention the "opportunities" that this same literature claims is associated with maleness. Perhaps male students were deliberately down-playing their advantaged perspectives or they may have become accustomed to taking their gendered position for granted. Instead, the male pre-service students also drew attention to the constraints and disadvantages of their gender in schools as well as at the faculty of education.

Although male students were far outnumbered in the pre-service program by the women in the course, they routinely took on the active, leadership roles in co-operative group activities and were more likely to voice opinions or become the spokesperson of their group. However, I often noticed that the men preferred to sit together and apart from the women in the class, where, ironically, they would express feelings of isolation or exclusion. In many cases, the women in the group unwittingly supported male assertiveness by silencing themselves and deferring to the men. Sometimes the women

Table 1. Full-time Women Faculty by Type of Appointment and Rank in Canada, 1992-93 and 1994-95.

	1994-95			1992-93		
Rank	Tenured/ Tenure Stream	Contract	Total	Tenured/ Tenure Stream	Contract	Total
Full Professor						
Number of Women	1006	22	1028	1002	20	1022
Percent of total	9.42	9.56	9.42	9.11	20.2	9.21
Associate Professor						
Number of Women	2161	84	2245	1912	92	2004
Percent of total	24.67	20.05	24.46	21.59	26.74	21.79
Assistant Professor						
Number of Women	1784	465	2249	1835	476	2311
Percent of total	41.49	35.09	39.98	38.16	33.69	37.14
Lecturers						
Number of Women	96	270	366	136	324	460
Percent of total	56.14	52.53	53.43	55.51	50.63	51.98
Total						
Number of Women	5047	841	5888	4957	1078	6035
Percent of total	21.10	33.80	22.30	19.77	38.34	21.64

of women in each category. Over the same time period, the proportion of women in tenure track or tenured positions increased in total and in every rank, although the actual number of women decreased in lecturer and assistant professor ranks. On the other hand, the proportion of women holding contract positions decreased in total, and in the ranks of full and associate professors. It is clear that universities are making *slow* progress in increasing the proportion of women in faculty positions.

Any increase in the proportion of women being hired, is not yet reflected in the rank of full professor, although more women have achieved the rank of associate professor (+249 positions). Table 2 provides the data describing the rank held by women for 1992-93 and 1994-95 and does not consider contract employment.

Table 2. Comparative Distribution of Rank Held by Tenured or Tenure Track Women Faculty in Canada.

		Lecturer	Assistant	Associate	Full	Total
1992-93	%	2.8%	37.6%	39.1%	20.5%	100%
	n	136	1835	1912	1002	4885
1994-95	%	1.9%	35.4%	42.8%	19.9%	100%
	n	96	1784	2161	1006	5047

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Gender Equity In Education: Taking Our Temperature In 1996

This paper provides an overview of the statistical evidence relating to women in educational institutions in Canada and the United States, and includes data for universities, colleges, and the public school system. We make an effort to "take our temperature" - to gather anecdotal and research-based reports about what is currently happening in our classrooms, offices, hallways and lunchrooms. Can we feel encouraged that the opportunities for girls and women are improving in our educational institutions?

The Statistical Profile of University Faculty

Assessing the success of women in academe is challenging. Data that include information about faculty hired in different eras masks the success or lack thereof for women, who currently compose a much larger proportion of new doctoral candidates than ever before. To clarify this concern, we look at faculty as a whole and the new cohort of faculty, those who have been hired during the last 7 years. While the American data on the new cohort is comprehensive, the Canadian data deals only with the University of Northern British Columbia, and the University of Saskatchewan.

Faculty-at-large

Women are not represented in faculty positions in equal proportion to the numbers enrolled in or completing doctoral programs.

In 1994-95, the participation rate of women (CAUT, 1996) enrolled in full-time doctoral programs (38% in total) varied across fields - e.g. 63% women in education, 12% in engineering, 25% in dentistry, 44% in medicine, and 20% in mathematics and physical sciences. The proportion of doctoral degrees granted to women increased from 1989 to 1995 (CAUT, 1994, 1996). Although women gained in representation in completed doctorates in most fields of study: education - 46% : 55% (an increase of 9%); engineering and applied sciences - 6% : 7% (an increase of 1 %); mathematics and physical sciences - 16% : 18% (an increase of 2%), it can be readily seen that they are still very under represented in some disciplines. The road to an increase (1% from 1989-95) in the proportion of doctoral degrees granted to women engineers was not smooth. While in 1992-93 women completed 11% of the doctorates in engineering and applied sciences, in 1994-95 this proportion was reduced to 7%.

Table 1 presents the number and proportion of full-time women faculty in Canada by type of appointment and rank for 1994-95 and 1992-93. The type of appointments include tenured or tenure stream as well as contract positions. In 1994-95, proportions of full-time women faculty tenured or in the tenure track stream revealed that of the full professors women comprised 9%; associate professors, 25%; assistant professors, 41%; and lecturers, 56%, for a total overall figure of 21% (CAUT, 1996). This compares with an overall participation rate of 38% for women in doctoral programs. Women earned 31% of the doctorates conferred in 1994-95.

In Canada during the years 1992-94, the number of faculty decreased from 27,888 to 26,402. Consequently it is important to consider both actual numbers and proportions even appeared to be embarrassed about presenting their knowledge or their expertise in front of the class. As such, these students displayed many of the typical gender role characteristics which foster low self-image, self-doubt and self-censorship, thus limiting their creative and intellectual potential (Schaef, 1985; Tarvis, 1992; Walkerdine, 1989; and Wrigley, 1992).

Conclusions

Pre-service students seem to appreciate the relevance and importance of gender-free issues. During our critical analysis of gender equity I was impressed by the quality of their questions and concerns as well as by their ambitious ideals and insightful teaching plans. However, I worry about their contention that sexist practices, similar to those they remember as students themselves, still flourished in schools and universities. As a result of these findings, this paper supports the view that successful gender equity practices must begin by encouraging student-teachers, faculty members and school personnel to examine their own beliefs and values in a safe, supportive context. Teachers must be invited to unpack their own ethnocultural baggage regarding silence and self-doubt as well as to confront the barriers, defenses and hidden agendas this precludes. They must recognize how gender-fair classrooms will benefit everyone before they can be expected to confront the status quo themselves and to look beyond internalized assumptions to endorse change and to seek appropriate strategies to bring such changes about.

Gender-fair practices require teachers to recognize, address, and accommodate different styles and orientations of males and females in schools so that boys will no longer dominate classes and girls will not continue to be discounted (Sadker & Sadker, 1994; Spender 1988). Effective gender equity measures must also question an exclusive reliance on objective and quantitative information, assertiveness and competition, as well as on the power of rationality to predict and declare certainly within complex, changing contexts. This paper supports the feminist stance that such measures must also address both a resistance to and an acceptance of subjective, affective, and intuitive ways of knowing as well as collaborative relationships and caring endeavours as viable alternative to competitive, product-oriented curriculum models (e.g., Belenky et al, 1988; Gilligan, 1982; Schaef, 1985; & Tavris, 1985). Schools must embrace collaborative partnerships and holistic connectedness as part of a new way of doing their work.

Course content and modelling by all faculty members become critical issues and major responsibilities in view of the fact that student teachers identify professors and university courses as significant influences on their attitudes about gender practices. There is an obvious need to develop more specific and extensive gender-sensitive programs within the pre-service course of study and to support the enthusiasm and idealism displayed by student teachers. The findings of this paper should also encourage faculty members to continue to learn and heighten their own awareness, to question their current practices related to gender equity and to self-monitor their bias-free behaviour. Confronting the right of any faculty member to 'not know' and to remain unaware, complacent or cynical about gender issues while students are expected to become proactive and sensitive to sexism in classroom seems timely and entirely appropriate. Professional development related to gender-sensitive awareness, consciousness-raising sessions and incentives are proactive measures that should be seriously addressed in all pre-service programs.

References

Acker, S. (1994). *Gendered education.* Toronto: OISE Press.

Belenky, M., Cinchey, B., Golderger, N., & Tarula, J. (1986). *Women's ways of knowing: The development of self, voice and mind.* N.Y.: Basic Books.

Blair, M., Holland, J. & Sheldon, S. (1995). *Identity and diversity: Gender and the experience of education.* Philadelphia: The Open University Press.

Brown, L. & Gilligen, C. (1992). *Meeting at the crossroads: Women's psychology and girls' development.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Calabrese, R. & Anderson, R. (1986). The public school: A source of stress and alienation among female teachers. *Urban Education, 21* (1).

Cochran-Smith, M. & Lytle, S. (1993). *Inside outside: Teacher research and knowledge.* New York: Teachers' College Press.

Davies B. (1993). *Shards of glass: Children reading and writing beyond gendered identities.* New Jersey: Hampton Press.

Delamont, S. (1990). *Sex roles and the school, 2nd. ed.* New York: Routledge.

Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gilligan, C., Lyons, N. & Hanmer, T. (Eds.) (1990). *Making connections.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Hoffman, B. (1995). A feminist perspective: A postmodern critique of authority. In C. Reynolds & B. Young (Eds.), *Women and leadership in Canadian education* (pp. 45-50). Calgary, Alberta: Detsilig Enterprises Ltd.

Klein, S. (Ed.) (1985). *Handbook for achieving sex equity through education.* Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.

Lewis, M. (1990). Interrupting patriarchy: Politics, resistance and transformation. *Harvard Educational Review, 60* (4), 467-488.

McCormick, T. (1994). *Creating the nonsexist classroom: A multicultural approach.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Mullen, J. (1994). *Count me in: Gender equity in the primary classroom.* Toronto: Green Dragon Press.

Orenstein, P. (1994). *School girls: Young women self-esteem and the confidence gap.* New York: Doubleday.

Pipher, M. (1994). *Reviving Ophelia.* New York: Ballantine Books.

Robertson, H. (1992a). Teacher development and gender equity. In A. (Hargreaves & M. Fullan (Eds.), *Understanding teacher development (*pp. 43 - 61). New York: Teachers College Press.

Robertson, H. (1992b). *The better idea book: A resource on gender, culture, science and schools.* Ottawa: The Canadian Teachers' Federation and The Ontario Women's Directorate.

Sadker, M. & Sadker, D. (1994). *Failing at fairness: How America's schools cheat girls.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Schaef, A. (1985). *Women's reality: An emerging female system in a white male society.* Silver Spring, MD: Winston Press.

Spender, D. (1988). *Learning to lose:.* London, UK: The Women's Press.

Tavris, C. (1992). *The mismeasure of women.* New York: Simon & Schuster.

Walkerdine, V. (1989). *Counting girls out.* Toronto: Virago Press.

Wrigley, J. (1992). *Education and gender equality.* Washington, D.C.: The Falmer Press.

Sharon M. Abbey, Ed.D., Faculty of Education, Brock University, St. Catharines, ON, L2S 3A1. (905) 688-5550x3349 (phone), (905) 688-0544 (fax), sabbey@dewey.ed.brocku.ca (e-mail).

CHANGING TIMES, CHANGING VIEWS?
PRESERVICE TEACHERS' TALK ABOUT WOMEN IN EDUCATION

Over the past few decades, the women's movement, educational reform agendas, and the introduction of specific government policies such as those promoting equity in the workplace have all continued to increase awareness of gender issues in education and to argue for a shift in thinking and a redefinition of women's roles in this field. "Times are changing," I hear many say. "Things are very different for women in education now." But are they really? Has the change in rhetoric impacted significantly on women in the profession?

In this paper I explore whether and how these changing times are reflected in the views of young women about to begin their careers in education. My purpose is to present, discuss and analyze comments made by ten female preservice teachers when asked to talk about the roles of women in education as well as their own future contributions as females in the profession. An exploration of their viewpoints calls into question the current assumptions about changing times and it helps shed some light on the ways in which gender manifests itself in the beginning of women's teaching careers. I begin below by outlining the context surrounding the students' talk and I then present and discuss their viewpoints as well as the implications these suggest for teacher education.

Context

The 10 preservice teachers discussed here were all completing their one year post-degree Bachelor of Education program in an Education faculty in Ontario this past year. I work in the same faculty, teaching methods courses in literacy and overseeing student teachers' practicum experiences, but I had not met these particular students before this talk, and I had no prior knowledge of their work in the faculty or their past experiences. They had responded to an invitation, through one of their course instructors, to meet with me to discuss their views about females in education.

All of these females were in the K to grade 10 program, with 2 seeking certification as K to grade 6 teachers and the remaining 8 seeking certification to teach grades 4 to 10. The group ranged in age from 22 to 33, with the average age being 25. Two were married, one of whom had 3 children. Their academic backgrounds and teaching interests were varied, with 4 specializing in second language instruction, 3 in maths and sciences, 2 in English and 1 in Visual Arts. All were actively seeking teaching employment for the coming year, with two hoping to teach in the U.S.A. and two abroad.

My meeting with these students took place near to the end of the preservice year. I scheduled a time just prior to the final practicum block to ensure that they had completed all university classes and accumulated sufficient experience both in the university and the public school system to formulate at least a beginning philosophy about teaching and at least a hazy vision of their own teacher image and role.

My purpose in meeting was to gain some insight into these young women's views. But I wanted to tap into their thinking in an informal, non-threatening manner. I chose to do this using a group conversational format since this approach would allow me to participate in the dialogue too. Hollingsworth (1992) holds that conversational formats involve a shift in power roles; as such I was not an "expert," coming in, but rather a co-discussant, considering my own views as much as the student teachers'.

I saw my role as creating a structure for the session and keeping all talk on topic. To facilitate this, I began with a brief Likert-scale survey, asking each student to record her level of agreement or disagreement (scale of 1 to 5) with a number of statements reflecting views on females in education (see Appendix A). I then used these to focus the follow-up talk, asking the students to respond to open-ended questions related to the statements (see Appendix B). The talk lasted 75 minutes and was tape recorded and transcribed.

My analysis of the talk involved several steps. To begin, I examined all responses and comments to determine what concepts were brought to bear in the session and what these suggested about the student teachers' level of awareness around gender issues and past and present portrayals of women in education. Next, I examined these understandings for similarities and patterns in the discourse that would serve as underlying themes in these students' thinking. Finally, I revisited these in the context of current literature to help me reconceptualize these beginners' views of themselves and other women in education.

Findings and Discussion

As I engaged these student teachers in talk and focussed on their individual and group comments and reactions, I became increasingly aware of their viewpoints, especially as they related to and compared with my own. When revisiting their transcribed tapes later on, I expanded my understanding of their thinking as I saw it reflected in the contradictory discourses that emerged in their talk. I identify these here and discuss their significance in light of the current rhetoric and literature on women in education.

Discourse of Critique

Our session began with talk about the statement in the survey that elicited the strongest response from the students. This was statement 8 [In the nineties, women have the same opportunities as men; barriers have dropped and women can achieve what they want]. Six of the group disagreed strongly with the statement, while the other four agreed. As they shared their views, however, the talk of both subgroups appeared to be highly informed by a language of critique. Evidence of a "raised consciousness" was clear.

Those disagreeing with the statement made comments such as "There's still an old boy's network out there," and "The double standards still exist -- you get judged on different things, based on your sex." One of the students, the oldest in the group, recounted prior experiences in the work force, painting a vivid picture for the others of how she had been let go from one of her jobs because she was a women, and how being pregnant had greatly hindered her chance of promotion in another job. Another commented: "Things like this happen all the time to women--the barriers are still there."

Those who had agreed with statement 8 countered that "the experiences you have depend on your background." These students stressed that they held beliefs instilled in them by parents. One comment seemed to capture their stance:

> The way you're raised has a lot to do with how you view it. I've always been told from my parents that I could do whatever I want to and that I could achieve it on my own. So I think that's set me on my way. I've had this tunnel vision that I can get what I want and that nothing can stand in my way.

When I questioned this same subgroup further, asking them directly if they believed that *they themselves* could really attain the highest positions in education, they qualified their "Certainly!" response by adding that "As women, we might have to work harder to get it." This was followed by nods of agreement from all around the table and a flurry of comments:

> I think that women can get any top job or role, but my perception of a woman who has one of those roles is that she must have given up a lot to get it.
>
> Women who choose to be principals or administrators or bosses just have to work harder--they can't slack off. If anything goes wrong it's picked up right way. But males-they always get away with it.
>
> That's why women make better principals than men. They do more...and focus more...they have to in order to be perceived as competent by others.
>
> The image of the 90's woman is a "power person." It's an illusion and it's hard to live up to that.
>
> I guess you can be told you can be whatever you want, but then eventually you still have to face the reality.

Other evidence of these students' awareness levels around constraints and injustices in the system emerged in their recollections about schooling. But this did not surface initially; in fact, when I first asked, all but one disagreed with statement 1 [Girls are shortchanged and receive a second class education]. It was only after considerable storying around their own schooling that one stated: "Looking back, I can see where certain things were lacking." Some then went on to recall cases of overt discrimination against them, while others recalled more general inequities they recognized:

> In high school I had a chemistry teacher, a male, who made it quite clear to me that, as a girl, I shouldn't be studying chemistry.
>
> In university, in the philosophy department, I encountered this attitude that women couldn't think as logically as men. The prof just didn't give good grades to women. It was so very frustrating. I felt like I was always having to argue with him.
>
> In sports, I always remember the girls having to get by with so much less. We'd win all the tournaments, and go to the provincial games, but we wouldn't get the same equipment that the guys got, or even the same busses. We got the junky stuff.

The students' responses and comments demonstrated to me that they were not blind to much of the social and political reality surrounding women in education. I was struck by their willingness to talk so openly, and to show insight into certain areas. When asked about statement 7, for example, the group readily agreed that women's voices were silenced, but then two of them went on that it maybe wasn't so much that women's voices were silenced now, but that there was just no arena in which their voices were accepted yet. Such talk surprised me. It not only contradicted literature suggesting that those in education do not recognize the effects of sexism (Saraj-Blatchford, 1993) and that student teachers are subordinate groups who hide their beliefs and feelings (Beauchamp & Parsons, 1989), but it also hinted at a sophisticated level of awareness around such issues as "the fiction of silence" (Ellsworth, 1989).

And yet, despite such talk, other responses and comments suggested that these students were still unaware of other gendered issues. For example, statements 3 and 9 had elicited "undecided" responses from most of the students, which they explained by saying they were unfamiliar with this literature and just didn't know whether this was true. And regarding statement 5, their reactions had been mixed, but their tendency had been to disagree that female teachers are portrayed less positively in the popular culture than male teachers. As a group, then, these students seem unaware of what Walsh (1995) describes as the "devaluation and exclusion of women" in educational reform and the "disparagement of women teachers" in the popular culture.

It appears, then, that these future teachers' awareness levels around gendered issues is high in one respect, but low in another. Their talk is well informed by a discourse of critique, but only on certain issues. To me, this suggests that teacher educators should help fill gaps. I agree with Ellis (1993) that students must construct their own knowledge of gender issues and that teacher educators can either support or inhibit the inquiry process. If knowing something, that is, being aware of it, and being able to articulate it, are first steps to change, then we as teacher educators owe it to future teachers to struggle with the problematic issue of how best to address unrecognized gender issues in our courses.

Discourse of Tradition

While these student teachers voiced discontent and were critical of much of the reality, their talk about themselves and their own roles was informed and influenced by another discourse-tradition. The extent to which these young women appeared to be preparing themselves for traditional roles was striking. There was no talk of action or rebellion aimed at changing the constraints they apparently recognized.

When asked what they saw themselves doing in 5 years, the students were hesitant. Eventually all but one said she saw herself teaching in the classroom. The one other hoped to be in graduate school, preparing for a college teaching position. When asked to envision their roles in 15 years, they again all talked of teaching. They added, however, that they hoped to have expanded their roles by that time:

> Oh, I hope to have a Masters degree finished by then. But I'll still be teaching. I have no desire for anything else, certainly not administration.
>
> If things go as I'd like, I'll still be teaching, but definitely have some responsibility, like be on curriculum committees, or be a department head.
>
> I'm hoping to be a high school teacher by then. I wouldn't want to ever go much further there than being a department head though.
>
> I see myself teaching, but in something different by then, probably adult education.

These new challenges they saw themselves taking on amounted to changing teaching assignments or divisions or levels. They talked of these as lateral moves, not hierarchical or upward moves. When asked why they would remain in the classroom, they answered:

> You get into teaching so you can be with kids. I want to be the facilitator in what they're doing. I don't want to be somebody off in the office who only sees the kids that need to be disciplined.
>
> When you're actually in the classroom you have the greatest impact. That's where it's at, being in the classroom day to day and interacting with students.

There was a certain heuristic attitude displayed here, suggesting an almost romanticized notion of the need to "be with the kids" and "help them grow." Further probing from me as to why it would not be equally satisfying to move into another role prompted one of the students to explain patiently that "most other jobs are for men, and we all know that men go in male dominated areas and women stick with female roles." The other followed:

> Males are especially conditioned to take the other roles, the leadership type roles.
>
> To consider themselves successful, men always think they have to be going in that upward direction. Women can be successful without all that.
>
> Men want, or think they have to have, the leadership jobs so they can have all the extras - prestige and income and wives who don't work and can stay home.

Talk about gender expectations and goals brought a new animation to the group and initiated the final sharing of viewpoints. These young women talked of pressures dictating they should marry, have children, and in essence, follow tradition. They had a fear of being shunned if they were not married. It's what others expect, they agreed. "It's what I expect too," one said. And "it's a big part of all our futures, isn't it?" asked another. "My biological clock is ticking away, and this is always in the back of my mind." One of the students attempted to capture the group's feeling as it tied into the larger question of their futures:

> That's why it's so difficult to talk about our futures or careers in education. So much of what we'll do or what direction we'll take will be dependent on things like getting married and having children. We don't really know where we'll end up.

This talk left me thinking how easily and readily these young women seemed to be absolving themselves from any action to break through the barriers they had earlier identified.They seemed to fail to understand their own role in dismantling the effects of matters such as sexism (Siraj-Blatchford,1993). But as I reflected on Biklen's (1995) point that teachers draw on a variety of discourses to explain themselves, I saw I could not understand these future teachers without juxtaposing their discourses of critique and tradition. Doing so brings out the complications and contradictions in these young women's lives, as well as the tension they experience as they struggle to find voices. At the same time that they seek a kind of autonomy, they remain influenced by all existing social and political discourses and power relations.

The effects of socialization are powerful indeed, and I believe, along with McWilliam (1994), that preservice education itself does much to inform the social stance of teachers. McWilliam challenges this culture, calling on teacher educators to help students understand the power relations in which teachers work. In the case of these young women, the task then becomes one of extending their understanding beyond its present point. These students are aware of power relations and inequities, but they have not gone beyond this to the core of the issue. They recognize gender differences, but do not recognize education and teaching as gendered experiences (Acker, 1994; Gaskell, 1990). None had agreed with statement 10, and they had not appeared to grasp the meaning behind the statement.

Returning to the question directing this paper, then, it would appear that little has really changed for women in education, even though these are apparently "changing times." What is promising, however, is that young women entering the profession do appear to have an increased awareness of injustices and a propensity to voice their views. If teacher educators can help them move beyond this point to inquire into the broader matter of gender as an integral part of teaching, there is hope indeed of greater things to come.

References

Acker, s. (1994). *Gendered education.* Toronto, Ont: OISE Press

Beauchamp, L. & Parsons, J. (1989). The curriculum of student teacher evaluation. *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing, 9(1), 125-171.*

Biklen, Sari Knopp. (1995). *School work - Gender and the cultural construction of teaching.* New York, N.Y.: Teachers College Press.

Ellis, J. (1993). 'If I were a boy...' Constructing knowledge about gender issues in teacher education. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 23 (4), 367-393.

Ellsworth, E. (1989). Why doesn't this feel empowering: Working through the repressive myths of critical pedagogy. *Harvard Educational Review*, 59(3), 297-324.

Gaskell, J. (1992). *Gender matters from school to work.* Milton Keynes, UK: Open University Press.

Hollingsworth, S. (1992). Learning to teach through collaborative conversation. *American Educational Research Journal*, 29 (2), 373-404.

McWilliam, E. (1994). *In broken images - Feminist tales for a different teacher education.* Mew York, N.Y.: Teachers College Press.

Saraj-Blatchford, I. (1993). *Race, gender and the education of teachers.* Buckingham, U.K.: Open University Press.

Walsh, E. (1995). *Schoolmarms - Women in america's schools.* San Francisco, CA: Caddo Gap Press.

APPENDIX A
Statements from Likert Scale Survey

1. In the school system, girls have been and continue to be shortchanged and to receive a second class education.
2. Women are better school principals or school board administrators than men.
3. The school reform literature excludes material or input directly from classroom teachers.
4. In higher education (colleges & universities), there are still very few female instructors and administrators.
5. All strong teacher roles, whether in books, on TV, or in the movies, are male.
6. Male teachers seek reform in education more aggressively than women.
7. Women's voices are silenced in education, just as they are in politics, business and entertainment.
8. In the nineties, women have the same opportunities as men; barriers have dropped and women can achieve what they want.
9. All well known education reformers are men.
10. Teaching is a gendered occupation.

APPENDIX B
Follow-Up Questions

1. Which statements evoked the strongest response in you, either in agreement or disagreement. Why?
2. How do you feel about the education you yourself have received from grade school through to university?
3. How do you think women in education are perceived by others? What do you base your response on?
4. What do you feel that you and other women can contribute most to the field of education?
5. Where do you see yourself in 5 years? 12-15 years?

Joyce B. Castle, Ph.D. Brock University, Faculty of Education, St. Catharines, Ontario, L2S 3A1. Phone: 905-688-5550 x3341. E-mail: jcastle@dewey.ed.BrockU.CA

The Struggles and Achievements of Minority Women Students in Academe

Background

This is a preliminary report on an ongoing study about minority women in academe. So far it has raised more questions than answers. This is in part because there is considerable theoretical confusion in the literature on the topic. The topic is rather broad involving the democratization of education, race, gender, class, anti-racism, and a variety of feminist and other critical pedagogical perspectives on the relationship between knowledge and power. This research is funded by Concordia University's FRDP and GRF grants and it is a 3-year project.

This study is a critical reflection on the last decade of my life in academic institutions as a learner, activist, administrator, researcher, and teacher. The analysis is based on the rethinking of my experience as a minority woman in academe from a Marxist feminist perspective. This means that my approach to research is not simply aimed at producing knowledge. Applying feminist participatory research methodology, I investigate the experience of minority women in order to contribute to our collective struggle for the transformation of the academic institution into a democratic and equitable place. The participants are not subjects who provide raw data for me to analyze. As a participatory undertaking, they engaged in relearning of their experiences.

Data The participants in the study were minority women students from Concordia and McGill universities. I did not try to define who a minority woman is.[1] Information about the research simply mentioned the project and its goals. In order to get a good participation, I advertised the project widely on-and off-campus.[2] I depended on student associations, the student women's centres, community women's organizations, and community and campus media. I also relied on personal connections and the word of mouth. Some of my colleagues had announced the project in their classes. The response was overwhelmingly positive. For instance, I recieved numbers of e-mail messages and had calls from women who heard about the project over a women's radio collective.

---

[1] In the pilot study which only involved Muslim women I provided the definition of a Muslim women as follows: *I am a Muslim woman; I am a Muslim secular woman; Islam is the dominant religion in my country of origin and I was born into a Muslim family. Islam is the dominant religion in my country of origin and I was born into a Muslim secular family. Islam is not the dominant religion in my country, but I was born into a Muslim family. Islam is not the dominant religion in my country of origin, but I was born into a Muslim secular family. I was born and/or raised in Canada and I am a Muslim. I was born and/or raised in Canada and I am a secular Muslim.*

[2] The project was widely advertised within the ethnic communities in Montreal. My research assistant's accounts of her experience with most of these communities are fascinating. In her detailed recorded (almost seventy pages) dairy she has indicated how men, as the leader of their communities, often questioned the validity of such an exclusionary research ("women only") and also questioned the whole notion of "minority." In challenging the "minority status", they often exhibited stereotypical and prejudicial attitudes prevail in the dominant culture towards some of the other ethnic communities.

Data Collection

I did not interview participants individually. The participants formed focus groups in different times and places including my home. In each focus group, at least five women participated. The discussion started by addressing the question of who a minority woman was. We did not try to reach an agreed-upon definition. We did, however, reach a consensus about locating our experiences within the power relations in the university.

This was followed by screening a documentary, *Inequality in the Classroom*, which is designed to be used as a tool for training faculty in order to make their classroom practices more inclusive. I used this documentary as a means of raising consciousness among participants. First, I consciously deviated from the positivist approach of posing as a detached researcher capable of extracting unpolluted raw data from my subjects. Second, the fact that the women responded to my call indicates that they were conscious of their status as a minority person. This does not mean, however, that they had theorized their experience. Socialization and acculturation does not allow us to question social relations as they are. Even in academic situations, in spite of the academy's claim to teach critical thinking, many people, both members of the minority and majority, accept things as they are even though they may have doubts about it. History gives us enough evidence of this relationship between the dialectics of subjective and objective formations. For example, I know, as a minority woman teacher, that my objectivity and authority is often under scrutiny. But like many other women, I do not always have the intellectual tools to conceptualize, theorize or problematize my daily experience of racism and sexism. The participants engaged with the documentary; they verified, rejected, modified, added and identified with the cases of exclusion presented.

After discussing the documentary, I provided each participant with a questionnaire. We discussed the questionnaire and they were asked to responde to it at their convenience. They returned them at different times ranging from a few days to a couple of months. The questionnaire contained both "factual" and "experiential" questions. Factual questions are designed to elicit information from the respondents regarding their background and their study and work history at the university. Experiential questions are designed to help respondents to reflect on and express their opinions about their experience within their learning environment. The respondents were encouraged to relate their experiences, to describe whatever events seemed significant to them, to provide their own definition of their situations and to reveal their opinions and attitudes as they saw fit. The questions were open-ended. The participants were diverse in terms of disciplinary affiliation, ranging from engineering to social sciences, and academic status, including part-time and full-time.

Some 40 women participated in the focus groups. Twenty-eight questionnaires have been returned so far. Some of them are in languages other than English or French. So far, I have only analyzed twenty-two questionnaires. The respondents have identified themselves as South Asian (5); Iranian (2); Indian (2); Latin American (2); Black (4); visible minorities (2); West-Indian (1); and minorities (4).

Discussion

It is difficult to quantify highly qualitative data. However, I have tried to substantiate the quantitative data by including a selected narratives from responses. Clarity and comprehensiveness of the narrative have been my criteria for the selection. The questionnaire consists of eight sections and each section includes one or more questions. They are: the university culture (three questions), classroom dynamics (four questions), curricular issues (one question), social life (six questions), admission and financial aids (one question), academic advising and mentoring (two questions), academic freedom (two questions), and access to graduate programmes (three questions). Some of the questions still require further refinements.

No Discrimination. It is not surprising that some of the participants noted that they did not experience discrimination. Women do not form a homogeneous population; they are divided according to class, race, ethnicity, religion, and culture; they are also divided along political and ideological lines; in other words, certain minority women may advocate the ideology of the majority. This is best manifested in the support of some minority women for the anti-equity position of the right-wing. The right-wing position is theorized by a host of academics and conservative think tanks and popularized by the media and politicians.

Discrimination. The majority of participants experienced various forms of discrimination. Reading the literature on racism and sexism in academe, I found out that these experiences are quite similar to those of the generation before. There is continuity in experiencing alienation, isolation, exclusion, hostility and lack of understanding of their lives. This continuity demands explanation. A relevant question is why there is little change in spite of the involvement of the state and the university in redressing inequality?

Role of the State. The universities in Canada took a number of initiatives in the last two decades in order to redress gender inequality. The result was the introduction of extensive, though superficial, changes in the life of the academy. From gender and race relations on the campus to curriculum to teaching to institutional structure and planning were affected by these reforms. New curricula such as women's studies, ethnic studies, and multiculturalism were established. Hiring policies and practices also were modified to accommodate these changes. A number of administrative measures were introduced in order to facilitate the integration of women. These measures included the establishment of offices of sexual harassment, race relations, employment and educational equity, status of women office and, more recently, human rights offices.

This diversification has occurred largely due to pressures from sources external to the university, i.e., as a result of popular struggles such as the civil rights movement, women's movement, Native people's movements, the environmentalist and peace movements and gay men and lesbians. Internally, too, the student movement of the 1960s and the 1970s acted as a powerful source of change. In spite of initial resistance, the state and the universities both showed flexibility in meeting these challenges.

No one can deny that gender and race relations on the campus have changed to some extent. However, what my findings show is that the balance of forces on the campus has not changed. The historical precedent to the situation today is the struggle for suffrage rights. After decades of organized struggle, women were finally allowed into the legislative halls of Western democracies. Their entry into the parliament has not, however, led to a radical change in gender relations.

This experience offers a radical challenge to poststructuralist and postmodernist theory. We are told by poststructuralists that power in society is diffused to the extent that one cannot see the state or the market as dominant centres of power. Some argue that the state in contemporary Western societies is withering away. Others who still see the institution of the state argue that it is a site of struggle where minorities, much like the blocs of power, can negotiate their interests. Some of these theorists see the campus and the state as a site of resistance of disadvantaged groups.

My findings and my own experience indicate that the university is highly structured and has close ties with two major centres of power, the state and the market. There is room in the university for negotiation and resistance. But the two sides negotiate under unequal conditions. The state and the university administration are both highly organized and experienced. The women, especially minority women, are not. Negotiation under these conditions amounts to concessions. Our institutions continue to train highly skilled labour force capable of contributing to an industrial capitalist economy which is being geared toward more regional and global integration. It is true that the universities show flexibility in opening their doors to marginalized women. Problems emerge, however, when they demand a radical break with a body of knowledge and institutional practices which negate their experiences of systemic racism and sexism. Such demands amount to a radical change not only within the universities but also between these institutions and society.

The Feminist Movement. I have talked so far about the limitations of the capitalist state and market-oriented institutions of higher education. I must emphasize that the main force of opposition to the state and the university, i.e., the feminist movement has also been weakened politically and ideologically. By the feminist movement, I mean here all the organized but non-unified struggles that aim at changing the patriarchal gender relations. It is a movement that consists of women of diverse backgrounds.

One of the main limitations of the feminist movement is its lack of anti-racist theory and strategy. Having originated in White middle-class struggles, the feminist movement has been challenged by minority women in the West and women in the developing countries to address the issue of race, ethnicity and nationality. This challenge is coming from within the movement. It demands a serious reevaluation of theory, ideology and organization. There has certainly been some progress in readjusting the movement. A serious obstacle has been ideas such as the "politics of identity," "the politics of difference" and cultural relativism.

Another limitation of feminist knowledge and activism on the campus is its confinement within the institution. Although it has left its mark on campus life, feminist knowledge is in a defensive posture today. Women studies programs have become institutionalized and their role as advocates of change has been minimized.

References

Adleman, Jeanne and Gloria Enguidanos (1995) *Racism in the Lives of Women: Testimony, Theory, and Guides to Antiracist Practice*. New York: Harrington Park Press.

Afshar, Haleh and Mary Maynard (Eds.) (1994) *The Dynamics of 'Race' and Gender: Some Feminist Interventions.* London: Taylor & Francis.

Anthias, Floya and Nira Yuval-Davis (1983) Contextualizing feminism-gender, ethnic and class divisions. *Feminist Review*, No. 15: 62-74.

Aptheker, Bettina (1981) Strong is what we make each other: unlearning racism within women's studies. *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 9:4 (Winter): 13-16.

Arthur, John & Shapiro, Amy (Eds.) (1995) *Campus Wars: Multiculturalism and the Politics of Difference.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Bannerji, Himani (Ed.) (1993) *Returning the Gaze: Essays on Racism, Feminism, and Politics.* Toronto: Sister Vision Press.

Bannerji, Himani *et al* (Eds.) (1994) *Unsettling Relations: The University as a Site of Feminist Struggle*. Boston, MA: South End Press.

Bannerji, Himani (1995) *Thinking Through: Essays on Feminism, Marxism, and Anti-racism.* Toronto, Ontario: Women's Press.

Belenky, M.F., B.McVicker Clinchy, N.Rule Goldberger, and J.Mattuck Tarule (1986). *Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice and Mind.* New York: Basic Books.

Bilken, Sari Knopp (1995) *School Work: Gender and the Cultural Construction of Teaching.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Border, L.B. & Chism, N.V. (eds.) (1992) *Teaching for Diversity.* New Directions for Teaching & Learning, no. 49. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Brah, Avtar (1993) Reframing Europe: engendered racisms, ethnicities and nationalisms in contemporary western Europe. *Feminist Review*, Issue 45, Autumn: 9-29.

Brah, Avtar (1991) International feminism and question of difference. Aron, J. and S. Walby (eds.) *From Margins to the Centre*. Brighton: Falmer Press.

Brah, Avtar (1993) "Race" and culture in the gendering of labour markets: South Asian young Muslim women and the labour market. *New Community*, Spring Issue.

Brah, A. (1991) International feminism and questions of difference. Aaron, J. and Walby, S. (Eds.) *From Margin to the centre.* Brighton: Falmer Press.

Briskin, Linda (1990) *Feminist Perspectives*. Ottawa: Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women.

Brunsdon, Charlotte (1991) Pedagogies of the Feminine: Feminist Teaching and Women's Genres. *Screen* 32 (4) Winter: 364-381.

Cannon, Lynn Weber (1990) Fostering positive race, class, and gender dynamics in the classroom. *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 1& 2: 126-134.

Carter, Deborah, Carol Pearson, and Donna Shavlik (1988) Double jeopardy: women of color in higher education. *Educational Record*, Fall-Winter: 98-103.

Casey, Kathleen (1993) *I Answer with My Life: Life History of Women Teachers Working for Soical Change*.

Cherry, Robert (1991) Race and gender aspects of Marxian macromodels: the case of the social structure of accumulation school, 1948-68. *Science & Society*, Vol. 55, No. 1: 60-78.

Comas-Diaz, Lillian and Greene, Beverly (Eds.) (1994) *Women of Color: Integrating Ethnic and Gender Identities in Psychotherapy*. New York: Guilford Press.

Daley, Caroline & Nolan, Melanie (Eds.) (1995) *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives.* New York: New York University Press.

Das Gupta, Tania (1993) Towards an antiracist, feminist teaching method. *New Horizons in Adult Education*, 7(1), 33-51.

De Danaan, Llyn (1990) Centre to margine: dynamics in a global classroom. *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 1 & 2, June: 135-144.

Denzin, Norman K. and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Eds.) (1994) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications.

Donald, J. and Rattansi, A. (Eds.) (1992) *Race, Culture and Society.* London: Sage Publications.

Essed, Philomena (1991) *Understanding Everyday Racism: An Interdisciplinary Theory*. London: Sage Publications.

Fals-Borda, Orlando and Muhammad Anisur Rahman (1991) *Action and Knowledge: Breaking the monopoly with participatory action-research*. Canada, Halifax: Fernwood Books.

Fiola-Matta, Liza and Mariam K. Chamberlain (1994) *Women and Color and the Multicultural Curriculum: Transforming the College Classroom with a Segment on Puerto Rican Studies.* New York: The Feminist Press.

Fisher, Bernice (1981) What is Feminist Pedagogy? *Radical Teacher*, 18 : 20-24.

Foster, Lawrence and Herzog, Patricia (Eds.) (1994) *Defending Diversity: Contemporary Philosophical Perspectives on Pluralism and Multiculturalism.* Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Flona Wilson, Bodil Folke Frederiksen (Eds.) (1995) Ethnicity, gender and the subversion of nationalism. A special issue of *the European Journal of Development Research.*

Frankenberg, Ruth (1990) White women racism and anti-racism: a women's studies course exploring racism and privilege. *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 1 & 2, June: 144-153.

Gabriel, S. L. and I. Smithson (Eds.) (1990) *Gender in the Classroom: Power and Pedagogy*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Gaskell, Jane and Arlene McLaren (Eds.) (1987) *Women and Education: A Canadian Perspective*. Calgary, Alberta: Detselig Enterprises Limited.

Gaskell, Jane &Willinsky John (Eds.) (1995) *Gender Informs Curriculum: From Enrichment to Transformation.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Goetsch, Hori A. (1991) Feminist pedogogy: a selective annotated bibliography. *NWSA Journal* 3, no. 3: 422-9.

Griffin, Pat (1991) The challenge to live up to our ideals: appreciating social diversity and achieving social justice in schools. *JOPERD*, August: 58-61.

Higginbotham, Elizabeth (1990) Designing an inclusive curriculum: bringing all women into the core. *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 1& 2: 8-23.

hooks, bell (1994) *Teaching Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom*. New York: Routledge.

James, Carl & Shadd, Adrienne (1994) *Talking About Difference: Encounters in Culture, Language, and Identity*. Toronto: Between the Lines.

James, Carl (1995) *Seeing Ourselves: Exploring Race, Ethnicity and Culture*. Toronto: Ontario, Thompson Educational Publishing, Inc.

James, Stanlie M. & Busia, Abena P.A. (Eds.) (1994) *Theorizing Black Feminisms: The Visionary Pragmatism of Black Women*. New York: Routledge.

Maguire, Patricia (1987) *Doing Participatory Research: A Feminist Approach*. Amherst, MA: The Centre for international Education, School of Education, University of Massachusetts.

Maher, Frances A. and Mary Kay Thompson Tetreault (1994) *The Feminist Classroom: An Inside Look at How Professors and Students Are Transforming Higher Education for a Diverse Society*. New York: Basic Books.

Minnich, E.K. (1990) *Transforming Knowledge*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Lather, P. (1991) *Getting Smart: Feminis Research and Pedagogy with/in the Postmodern*. New York: Routledge.

Lewis, Magda and Roger Simon (1986) A discourse not intended for her: learning and teaching within patriarchy. *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 56, No. 4:457-472.

Lorde, Audre (1981) The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. Cherrié Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa (Eds.) *The Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*. New York: Kitchen Table Press: 98-106.

Luke, Carmen *et al* (Eds.) (1992) *Feminism and Critical Pedagogy*. New York: Routledge.

Miles, Angela (1989) Women's challenge to adult education. *The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*, Vol. III, No. 1: 1-18.

McCarthy, Cameron (1990) *Race and Curriculum*. The Falmer Press.

Monture-Angus, Patricia (1995) *Thunder In My Soul: A Mohawk Woman Speaks*. Canada, Halifax: Fernwood Books.

Rakow, Lana F. (1991) Gender and race in the classroom: teaching way out of line. *Feminist Teacher*, Vol. 6, No. 1: 10-13.

Richer, Stephen and Lorna Weir (1995) *Beyond Political Correctness: Toward the Inclusive University*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Rothenberg, Paula (1985) Teaching about racism and sexism: A case history. *Journal of Thought*, 20, no.3 (Fall):122-136.

Shohat, Ella & Stam, Robert (1995) *Unthinking Eurocentricism: Multiculturalism and the Media*. New York: Routledge.

Schuster, Marilyn R., and Susan R.Van Dyne (Eds.) (1985) The changing classroom. *Women's Place in the Academy: Transforming the Liberal Arts Curriculum*, Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman & Allanheld, 161-171.

Sidel, Ruth (1994) *Battling Bias: The Struggle for Identity and Community on College Campuses*. New York: Viking.

Solomos, John and Les Back (1995) Marxism, racism, and ethnicity. *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 38, No. 3, January (Special Issue on theories of ethnicity).

Spelman, Elizabeth V. (1985) Combatting the marginalization of black women in the classroom. *Gendered Subjects: The Dynamics of Feminist Teaching*, Margo Culley and Catherine Portuges (eds.) Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 240-244.

Stabilo, Carol (1994) Feminism without guarantees: the misalliances and missed alliances of postmodernist social theory. *Rethinking Marxism*. Vol. 7, Number 1: 48-61.

The University of Wisconsin System, Women's Studies Librarian (1991) *Women, Race, and Ethnicity: A Bibliography*.

The Chilly Collective (Eds.) (1995) *Breaking Anonymity: The Chilly Climate for Women Faculty*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.

Tisdell, Elizabeth (1993) Interlocking systems of power, privilege, and oppression in adult higher education classes. *Adult Education Quarterly*, Vol. 43, No. 4, Summer: 203-226

Thomas Barbara (1984) Principles of antiracist education. *Current Readings in Race Relations*. 2(3), 20-24.

Thompson, Martha (1987) Diversity in the classroom: creating opportunities for learning feminist theory. *Women's Studies Quarterly* 15, nos. 3-4.

Vieux, Steve (1994) In the shadow of neo-liberal racism. *Race & Class*, 36, 1: 23-32.

Vorst, Jesse *et al* (1989) *Race, Class, Gender: Bonds and Barriers. Socialist Studies No. 5.*

Wager, Marret (1995) *Constructions of Femineity in Academic Women*. Helsinki, Finland: The Finnish Academy of Science and Letters.

Ware, Vron (1992) *Beyond the Pale: White Women, Racism and History*. London: Verso.

Whitten, Lisa (1993) Managing student reactions to controversial issues in the college classroom. *Transformations* 4.1: 31-36.

Zinn, Maxine Baca, Lynn Weber Cannon, Elizabeth Higginbotham, and Bonnie Thornton Dill (1986) The costs of exclusionary practice in women's studies. *Sign* 11, no. 2: 290-303.

Shahrzad Mojab, Department of Applied Social Science, Concordia University, 1455 de Maisonneuve Blvd. W., Montréal, Québec, (514) 848-2270, Fax: (514) 848-2262, E-mail: Mojab@vax2.concordia.ca

Uncertainty: Pedagogical Dilemmas With Teachers of a Continuous Intake Programme

Introduction

This paper will deal with some pedagogical concerns which resulted from my experience with two teachers of an immigrant continuous intake program in St. Catharines, Ontario and my attempt as a graduate professor to address these concretely. These concerns arose primarily from uncertainty related to several dimensions which are important specifically to this group but have significance also to other areas of teaching. Specifically, for continuous intake programs, such areas as: Marginality, isolation, lack of support, and especially student fluctuation create complex dilemmas for these teachers. As Barer-Stein (1990) so aptly puts it in describing a group of teachers teaching English to Canadian newcomers,

> Daily, these teachers face, and are immersed in, the unfamiliar, even as their students are. (1990, p. 165)

On the other hand, a great deal of satisfaction and dedication is also apparent. Some of the problems are also great catalysts for understanding one's own culture more fully, for expressing the creative and challenging side of teaching and for appreciating the rich variety which these students bring to the adult education process.

These insights have been gathered through interviews of two teachers (V) and (J), observations of their teaching and focus reflections arising from both of the above. My primary concern is to open for discussion and further investigation the concerns related to this area of pedagogy. In addition, I will suggest ways in which these dilemmas can be addressed and made legitimate. And finally I will explore how this problem has made me as a teacher more focused on the needs of my students, and aware that inclusive education for me must address those who do not always fit into the curricular mainstream.

Continuous Intake Dilemmas

Continuous intake programs are similar to ESL programs in that they teach students who lack proficiency in the language, culture and customs of their new country. They differ from the usual ESL programs in that they deal with more transient participants whose focus is less academic and more practical (Graham and Cookson, 1990).

Continuous intake programs are atypical pedagogically in that they have few of the certainties of a regular teaching situation. The background, customs, trauma, literacy history and gender perceptions of these students all place tremendous demands on the teacher. In a continuous intake program students enter at various times of the year or the day and leave at odd and frequent intervals. There is no certainty whether the teacher can expect the students she had last week or even last day to be there when she plans or teaches her lesson for the day. The reasons for this are numerous. Students enter the country at varying times. They may be ready to advance to another level when they have made sufficient progress at any time during the year. They may get a job and leave, or lose a job and return. They may have relatives visiting from their home country and miss school for weeks. They may suffer illness, lack of money or child care problems which prevent them from treating school as a constant. They are adult learners for whom school is an important but not exclusive concern. Life often makes demands which supersede schooling. For the teachers of such a group, uncertainty is not a sometime visitor, as it is in most teaching situations, it is a dominant companion and perhaps the only constant in their professional lives. The term dilemma best describes this situation because it is a recurring phenomenon and, unlike problems, is never solved but constantly renegotiated (Cuban, 1992).

Another dilemma articulated by these teachers relates to their image as professional teachers.

> I would say we have image problems. We are not considered professional by anyone I can think of; we are not paid as professionals, and categorized as professionals in many ways. Some of that is because our profession started out with volunteers, people with a few hours of training and language and basically using their experience of english language as a source for teaching this population. The building of a professional image is taking a long, long time. (Notes, V).

Uncertainty is then associated not just with the difficulties of teaching but with a lack of professional identity. Yet these teachers seek to be viewed as professionals. They have both pursued education and certification in ESL teaching. They believe that what they do is important, not just to their students, but also to society.

> I feel that I know my own country, my own culture , my roots so much better by being exposed to all these different ideas and am learning to appreciate the mental processes and the emotional lives of these people. (Notes, V.)

Both teachers love the flexibility of the program and the creativity which it allows. They are aware of their discipline and can articulate clearly what it is they enjoy about their teaching.

> I like to teach about the sound system, I like to teach about the nuances of meaning in our language. I really like to teach about meaning and

> communication and how different languages can really communicate. (Notes J.)

However, they feel frustrated because their profession, and by implication what they value, is perceived as peripheral.

One of these teachers, eager to experience some new insights, began graduate work, only to discover that once again her concerns did not exist in the literature of teaching or research. This was the situation which first brought this problem to my attention. I offered, what I thought were excellent resources for curriculum planning (Schubert, 1985; Miller 1983; Marsh 1992) as well as adult education theories (Cranton 1989, Brookfield 1986, Mezirow, 1992). However repeatedly I heard, "You just don't understand." Finally I arranged to visit her site in order that I should understand. It was an illuminating experience which led to a transformation of my own pedagogy. I began to understand that the practice of adult education and curriculum often deal with idealized situations and do not address the dilemmas which exist in real practice. When we then do not offer strategies, theories, and planning which address their concerns, or worse yet when we do not understand what those concerns entail we fail in our own pedagogy and question their professionalism.

Though people like Brookfield (1987) have warned that practice needs to be considered when adult education principles are applied, and though he and others have attempted to document experientially based adult education situations, (Brookfield, 1986; Mezirow, 1992; Candy, 1990) little actual documentation exists which relates to continuous intake programs and offers meaningful constructs for these educators.

Some of the realities which dominated their discipline were a further frustration in their teaching. For instance, the low abilities in terms of the knowledge base of these students demanded that what was taught be simple and was often assumed to be similar to what happens in primary grades. Yet they realized that the adult nature of their students demanded treatment at far more sophisticated and advanced levels.

Adult learning principles (Knowles, 1984) which seemed to apply often espoused an assumption of self-awareness and self-discipline which was seldom present with these students. As well the differences in literacy backgrounds, some were professionals while others had never learned to read,brought an added dimension to the intricacies of classroom dynamics. Dilemmas relating to cultural conceptions of gender, power and learning style needed to be constantly negotiated with much sensitivity. These issues have been documented in the literature of ESL teaching and multicultural instructions (Taylor and Draper, 1989). What creates additional problems in continuous intake classes is the power struggle between long-time immigrants and new arrivals. In these situations, the teacher could often unwittingly be made a pawn. By the time she had diagnosed the real issues involved, much trust and classroom learning had been destroyed. (Notes, V.). To try to bridge these poles became pedagogically frustrating, not being able to do so, made the teachers again uncertain. They began to question whether what they were learning in graduate school had validity, or if it did, whether they were inept at applying it. These very concrete dilemmas went beyond what they taught in their own classrooms to the questioning of their abilities as teachers and learners.

In addition the political agendas of the funding situation caused more than unease. Since funding was a joint venture between the federal and the provincial governments, as well as sometimes Boards of Education and interest groups, and since budget slashing was the intention of all of these, this particular process resulted in tremendous upheavals both in the number of students which could be expected and the lack of security which this, as well as the everpresent program cutting represented. To plan and innovate and continue to get some sort of professional satisfaction under these circumstances became very difficult. Yet in spite of these dilemmas, both teachers appeared to love and care deeply for their work and to search desperately for some kind of professional satisfaction. They longed to have someone who could provide them with theoretical constructs which would support and legitimate what they valued. This was to become the challenge which I accepted as their graduate instructor.

Steps Toward Tentative Solutions

Observation of Practice

One of the initial steps to helping this particular group of teachers was to make them feel that what they did was legitimate, pedagogically sound and could add to the theoretical practice of their profession. This meant that I, as a teacher, needed to listen and observe for quite a while before I was ready to offer concrete suggestions. It took several sessions before I was able to assess the subtle knowledge which these instructors utilized but were largely not articulating. This became apparent when I watched a student give a right answer but observed the teacher continue to push and probe as if the student had not done so. Her continuing and apparently uncomprehending questioning, ultimately made me realize that her experience had sensitized her to delve for deeper assurances of learning than surface answers. She recognized, as I did not, that continuous intake students often memorize a correct answer but do not really understand. Her probing caused real learning to occur (Notes, V).

The situation also involved being sensitive to the frustrations which these teachers felt at the often chaotic nature of their craft. When I asked them to think of metaphors which reflected how they felt about their teaching, one of the teachers explained that she saw "circles, sometimes funnels" Sometimes these two merged, in fact they became a tornado. This I realized was an apt metaphor not just for her teaching but for the frustration which such teaching often produced. The relatively recursive, yet somewhat regular circles could at a moment's notice be transformed into devastating tornadoes which wreaked havoc with planning of curriculum or with the dynamics of a classroom which often changed from gentle to uncontrollable depending on the particular interaction of new, present or absent individuals.

Pedagogically, the very creativity with which these teachers functioned produced one of their uncertainties. Since they were so adapt at working flexibly all the time, they were quite loath to be pinned down in terms of articulating their curriculum plans. Instead I found that they kept them in their heads and just adapted and adopted what they needed. Yet at the same time this became a pedagogical dilemma because they felt quite guilty that they could not show what they were doing in a coherent and systematic way. I began by addressing the theoretical aspects in order to give these teachers some tools which would legitimate their practice.

Theory

I provided theorists who addressed more discursive and less linear program designs (Doll,1993; Eisner 1988, Schon 1983). Doll replaces the three R's of the past curriculum by the four R's of Richness, Recursion, Rigour, and Relationship. For my students this book addressed and legitimated their chaotic discipline and gave them tools that were helpful in programming. For the first time they were able to see that they were not marginalized but ahead of the pack. They were the forerunners of what a complex society might indeed demand of all of its teachers. The satisfaction which they experienced was energizing to me as a teacher. It led me to look at these students as exciting catalyst for my professional development. Eisner's notion of looking at curriculum from the standpoint of an artist rather than a scientist, gave these students the awareness that difference, adaptability and experimentation were legitimate ways to work in teaching. Schon's book on responsive education was helpful as a very practical yet thoroughly theoretical explanation of the realities of their practice.

Isolation

I realized also that one of the problems faced by these teachers was their lack of peer interaction. The heavy time demands, the variety of backgrounds of some of the teachers involved in continuous intake programs, and the lack of collegial planning time, all contributed to the isolation which these teachers felt. I addressed this concern by initiating collaborative work between the two teachers. The three of us met, and are continuing to meet to design a unit which will reinforce what is done by the language teacher (V) with the work being done in the computer program (J). Both curriculum planning and isolation are addressed concretely. Since the two teachers will present their unit at a conference, the professional aspect will also be validated.

Together we developed practical suggestions which reflected the circle metaphor. We planned modules which would elaborate the learnings into graduated levels of difficulty so that several exercises in each area would allow the teacher to teach the unexpected student while at the same time reviewing already taught material with the rest of the class without appearing to rehash old material. Above all the articulation of what each teacher implicitly thinks about her teaching became an important component in making visible what they do. This reenforced the fact that they had plans, and systems in place which were valid and useful. It diminished the uncertainty that only haphazard planning existed in their work.

Transformation

Observation of their teaching and planning proved to be a very important part of what I, as a graduate teacher, did to breach the gap between the theory of my classroom and the actual practice of the students' worksite. This observation was important not only for them but for me also. It led to my understanding of what they do and to our mutual collaboration as three teachers. In addressing their needs, I realized that uncertainty can be frustrating, but for them as for me, it became a creative tension which had positive results. I discovered, for example, that even though the teachers felt that they had not succeeded in utilizing adult education principles which had been discussed in their graduate courses in their continuous intake classes, this was not so. Being able to observe their class, I could point out to them how they were indeed incorporating and using many of these techniques. This became infinitely rewarding to them, and surprising. It pointed to the fact that an outsider often can assess what we do with much less bias. Conversely, these teachers began to share with me thoughts about my teaching style which they found reenforcing. They felt that I modeled a dynamic process by adapting my agenda, adding resources and altering my evaluation after meeting my classes in order to provide relevance for students. They found this to be confirming for their practice and an important indication that adaptation and flexibility are and should be legitimate. Though they had read this they needed to see the process modeled in order to incorporate it in their work.

Conclusion

Uncertainty and marginalization can be inhibiting and debilitating. The exclusion from what we idealize as the correct and mainstream activity in teaching can cause us to question our sense of professional expertise and to cause us to feel that as a result we are at fault. This phenomenon was true for the students of the continuous intake program, for their teachers and to some extent for me as well. When someone appears to be unable to benefit from a teaching situation, the teacher tends to blame herself. In this case the questioning did not discourage these teachers from searching for better methods, it just blocked their ability to see that what they did was legitimate. My collaboration with them, my interviews of what they believed was important to their teaching and my observations of their practice provided them with just such a legitimacy, with a sense of validation and with an awareness of the positive application of the theoretical constructs to which they so needed to subscribe. Their reflection of their pedagogy resulted in turning their assumptions and experiences into critical inquiry which changed their negative meaning perspectives (Mezirow 1992). While it did not alter entirely the frustrating aspects of their profession, it allowed them to analyze what they valued about it and to see it in a more inclusive and positive light. Our collaboration resulted in a valid adult educational experience. By linking it to their practice it changed from idealistic rhetoric to meaningful learning. They moved from frustration, to needs assessment, to implementing their learning to personal development. They are publishing one paper together and another one with their instructor. Learning occurred for them personally and professionally and resulted in transformed application of their graduate and worksite experience.

Alice Schutz, Faculty of Education, Centre on Collaborative Research, Brock University, St. Catharines, Ontario. L2S 3A1. 688-5550 ext. 3772, aschutz@dewey.ed.brocku.ca

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Bibliography

Barer-Stein, Thelma. (1990). Experiencing the unfamiliar: A matrix for learning. **Adult education in a multicultural society**. Beverly Cassara. (ed). London: Routledge, pp. 163-186.

Brookfield, S. (1986). **Understanding and facilitating adult learning.** San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Candy, P.C. (1991). **Self-Direction for lifelong learning.** San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Cranton, Patricia. (1989). **Planning instruction for adult learners.** Toronto: Wall and Thompson.

Cuban, Larry. (Feb. 1992). Managing dilemmas while building professional communities. **Educational Researcher.** pp. 4-11.

Doll, William E. (1993). **Post-Modern perspective on curriculum.** New York: Teachers College Press.

Eisner, Elliot W. (1988). The celebration of thinking. **National Forum.** pp. 30-33.

Graham, C. Ray. (1990). Linguistic minorities and adult education in the United States. **Adult education in a multicultural society.** Beverley B. Cassara (ed.). London: Routledge, pp. 45-59.

Knowles, M.S. (1984).**The Adult Learner: A neglected species.** London:Gulf.

Marsh, Colin and George Willis. (1995). **Curriculum: Alternate approaches, ongoing Issues.** Englewood Cliffs. NJ: Merrill.

Mezirow, Jack and Associates. (1992). **Fostering critical reflection in adulthood.** San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Miller J. P. (1983).**The Educational spectrum: Orientations to curriculum**. New York: Longman.

Schon, D. (1983). **The reflective practioner: How professionals think in action.** New York: Basic Books.

Schubert, William H. (1986). **Curriculum: Perspective, paradigm and possibility.** New York: Macmillan.

Taylor, Maurice C. and James A. Draper. (1989). **Adult literacy perspectives.** Toronto: Culture Concepts Inc.

Entrepreneurial Training for the Disabled: The STRIDE Program

Muriel Leith Stewart
Associate Professor, Athabasca University

Summary

STRIDE (Support, Training, Resources, and Information for Disabled Entrepreneurs) is a new approach to assisting the disabled to become self-supporting. The program is based on the four cornerstones of small business training: business skills; personal development; human support; and personal financial management. It is a modified version of ***The Business of Your Life***, a 25-lesson course published by the author. Initially delivered through print materials and workshops to a pilot group of 22 disabled individuals, STRIDE will be available through the Internet with a BBS (bulletin board service) and on-line advisory support.

Introduction

Currently, more than 4.2 million Canadians have functional limitations. This is approximately 15.5% of the population. When the definition of disability is broadened to include individuals with chronic debilitating diseases such as fibromyalgia and chronic fatigue syndrome, the percentage affected is higher and is likely to increase significantly in an ageing population and under the conditions of increasing stress generated, at least in part, by an economic recession and high levels of unemployment.

In a job market where it is intrinsically hard for the disabled to survive, it has become more difficult for such individuals to obtain meaningful employment or indeed any employment at all. As a result of government cut-backs to many programs of training and on-going financial support, a growing sense of futility has developed, and mere survival has become a focus for many. The possibility of starting a business is not an alternative that many of the disabled appear to have considered but may well be an option that will attract more attention and government support in the future.

Most programs intended to assist the disabled to enter the work force focus on one or more of the following approaches: training or retraining to prepare disabled individuals for jobs in areas where it is assumed that there will be sufficient demand so that they will find employment; life skills, resume writing, and other forms of assistance to prepare the participants to find jobs themselves; work programs in facilities such as sheltered workshops, where the emphasis is on applying manual skills. In reality, however, many of the disabled either work far below their capabilities or give up attempting to obtain employment and subsist on various forms of financial support such as disability pensions, Social Assistance, or programs such as AISH (Assured Income for the Severely Handicapped).

Very few government funded programs recognize self-employment as an option, and little funding has been directed towards either entrepreneurship training for the disabled, lending programs to assist disabled entrepreneurs in business start-up, or on-going support and education for those who have are already in business for themselves.

The STRIDE program represents a new approach to assisting disabled individuals to become financially independent in businesses of their own. STRIDE stands for Support, Training, Resources, and Information for Disabled Entrepreneurs, an acronym devised by the author to describe a program she designed and delivered in Calgary for the first time in 1995.

Program Development

STRIDE is based on an approach to small business teaching developed by the author over the past eight years. In the late 1980s, she designed and delivered under the auspices of the Canadian Jobs Strategies Program, a distance teaching course, ***Enterprise in Action***, consisting of 12 lessons and accompanying audiotapes. This was delivered in Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, British Columbia, and Northwest Territories, with primary target groups of women, indigenous native peoples, and unemployed young people.

Subsequent research over a five year period led to the development of a 25-lesson, four-module program called ***The Business of Your Life*** in which a "cornerstones" approach to teaching small business start-up was devised. The cornerstones are: business-related skills such as marketing; personal development in areas such as assertiveness; development of a human support network; and personal financial management. This approach is based on the results of extensive case studies of small businesses and the reasons why they have or have not succeeded. A complete listing of ***The Business of Your Life*** course lessons is provided in Appendix 1.

Traditional entrepreneurship training programs have almost invariably focussed on the first of these cornerstones, very often to the exclusion of most of the others. Paradoxically, however, many entrepreneurs fail or give up before even starting, not fundamentally because of lack of business skills but because of inadequacies in areas dealt with as part of the other three cornerstones.

For the disabled person, the problems faced by all entrepreneurs are brought into sharp focus. Issues relating to self-sabotage, procrastination, lack of self-esteem, and isolation are even more difficult for many of the disabled. The problems of maintaining some level of financial support while struggling to obtain enough funding are common to most small business start-ups but for the disabled individual, they may well appear insurmountable. A frequent deterrent to starting a business is the fear many of the disabled have of immediately losing whatever government support they have. While living at subsistence level is not their preference, they see little opportunity to begin becoming self-employed and are afraid that they will lose the very limited income they have and will not be able to generate enough to support themselves in an independent business.

STRIDE represents a first step in recognizing the very specific issues the disabled person faces in attempting to become a successful entrepreneur. The program as it was initially delivered was a modified version of ***The Business of Your Life*** and consisted of a self-study kit of materials supported by five one-day workshops. Four of the workshops were based on the cornerstones as described above and the fifth was a general problem-solving and feedback session.

Program Delivery

The kits were provided to 22 disabled people who had expressed a strong interest in entrepreneurship. One-day workshops were provided once a week, each lasting approximately 7 hours.

The disabilities in the learner group included several instances of brain injuries, loss of limbs, post-polio syndrome, severe osteoarthritis, and progressive deafness. None of the participants was deemed to be mentally handicapped and all were mobile at least to the extent of being able to attend the seminars independently. No sign language interpretation was provided but the seating arrangement was organized so that each participant had the best possible access to the speaker.

Outcomes

The attrition rate in this program was very low. Only one of the students discontinued. All others attended punctually and regularly, and there was a very high degree of participation. This suggests a particularly strong commitment on the part of the participants, the more so because the fee was nominal and it was difficult for many of them to travel to the workshops. In addition, a full day workshop proved to be very tiring for most students, although this issue was raised only after the series was over.

The level of interest and participation in the workshops was substantial, and many of the students did a considerable amount of work between sessions. Several prepared complete business plans and the group decided to form their own association for disabled entrepreneurs.

While the motivation and enthusiasm of the students was high during the program, it proved difficult for most of them to sustain their efforts to the point of launching and running a business to any significant degree. One new business prospered but most others are still struggling or have relinquished the idea. The association disbanded after a few months because of lack of interest. Difficulty of obtaining start-up funding was a common reason for abandoning several promising ideas. Overall, however, the lack of on-going support and a continuing advisory and education service was perhaps a more important factor although to a limited degree the author was able to provide on-line service for a short time for those participants with an Internet hook up. Only two of the students had access to this facility, and distance and lack of funding precluded the provision of any reasonable degree of support to the others.

The structure of the program was generally regarded as very useful, despite the time limitations imposed by the workshop series.

The major issues emerging from this pilot program are: lack of access to entrepreneurship training and on-going support; lack of funding sources specifically aimed at allowing the disabled to access start-up business capital; lack of cheap, modern communication facilities such as home computers and Internet link-ups; lack of policies to allow disabled individuals to continue to receive some form of financial support while developing a business to the point where it is able to provide independent income.

While several of these problem areas cannot be addressed within the context of a small business training program, it is important to bear them in mind as possible limiting factors in the success of future programs offered. It may be argued, for example, that there is little point in providing on-line information and courses if the majority of disabled people do not own or have access to computer facilities. It is, however, the author's contention that the provision of such services could be a key to leveraging funding and equipment for the disabled from government and corporate sources. A far more powerful argument could be made for supplying home computers and Internet hook ups to disabled individuals who had as a specific goal taking on-line training on starting a business and using the computer as a primary communication system for the business itself.

With this in mind, the second phase of STRIDE II has now been launched. It now seems more appropriate to translate the acronym as Small Business Training on the Internet for Disabled Entrepreneurs.

A preliminary search of the Internet revealed numerous sites where information was available on issues relating to the disabled. World wide, there are over a thousand such sites from which thirty were chosen as a testing ground for STRIDE II.

STRIDE II is a mini-course consisting of four lessons, one on each of the cornerstones described earlier in this paper. The course may be accessed free of charge. A bulletin board component is under construction so that visitors to the site may network with other entrepreneurs. Future plans include an on-line support service staffed by a disabled person with small business experience.

An important feature of STRIDE II is the data collection page. Through this means, it is hoped that a large amount of data on the usefulness of the program and the needs of the users will be quickly collected.

Of the thirty sites targeted to be notified of this program, many are in the United States and several are in Australia. In Canada, however, a recently opened server may very well prove to be useful. INDIE (Integrated Network of Disability Information and Education) which went on line in January, 1996 may be an important route to enhancing and providing greater accessibility to STRIDE and other educational programs for the disabled.

Dr. Muriel Leith Stewart, Associate Professor, Centre for Economic, Industrial Relations and Organizational Studies, Athabasca University, Box 10,000 Athabasca, Alberta T9S 1A1 Ph. (403) 675 6111 ext. 6483. Fax (403) 675 6338. E-mail muriels@cs.athabascau.ca

Appendix 1

Module 1
Small Business Basics

1. Bending the Trends *Finding business opportunities*
2. A Blueprint for Action *Writing a business plan*
3. Contact Cement *Developing a human support network*
4. A Place in the Market *Basic principles of marketing*
5. Marketing Ps and Qs *The four Ps of marketing; developing a business plan*
6. Digging for Dollars *Financing a business*
7. The Company You Keep *Setting up a company legally*
8. The Business in Your Basement *Running a home-based business*
9. To Buy or Not to Buy *Buying businesses and franchises*
10. Facing the Future *Options as a business grows*

Module 2
The Inner Entrepreneur

1. About Time *Time management*
2. De-Stressing *Coping with stress*
3. You'll Do it When? *Dealing with procrastination*
4. Stand up for Yourself *Developing self-assertiveness*
5. Self-sabotage *Overcoming internal roadblocks*

Module 3
Special Topics in Small Business

1. Staffing for Success 1 *Recruiting and hiring*
2. Staffing for Success 2 *Supervision and staff development*
3. Craftsmarts *How to sell crafts*
4. Marketing by Mail *Running a mail order business*
5. Importing *Running an importing business*
6. Exporting *Running an exporting business*

Module 4
Money Talks

1. The Big Picture *Preparing a summary of personal assets and cash flows*
2. Financial Fundamentals *Basic principles of investing*
3. Cover Your Assets *Basic principles of asset protection*
4. Making the Most of Mutuals *How to invest in mutual funds*

Equity, Disclosure and Stigma: The Accommodation of Students with Non-Visible Disabilities in Canadian Universities

Although Canadian universities have implemented equity legislation and policies to improve access and accommodate persons with disabilities, stronger efforts are required to ensure the effectiveness of their implementation. Recent research conducted by Steele (1995) at Carleton University indicates that students with disabilities, particularly those with non-visible disabilities continue to experience numerous barriers including stigmata in their efforts to disclose and self-identify their disability and secure academic accommodations. Hence, it is suggested by the author of this paper that the academic accommodation of students with disabilities should be negotiated within an interactional model and understood within a human rights framework, as a shared responsibility of the entire university community including support services, departments, faculties and instructors.

More than 4.2 million Canadians (15.5 per cent of the population) with functional limitations face barriers in their daily lives in areas that many Canadians take for granted, such as education, employment, training, transportation, communications and housing (Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, 1995:1). Persons with disabilities of all ages may experience one or more functional limitations resulting from a physical, organic, visual, intellectual, hearing, learning or psychiatric impairment. In order for them to achieve full social and economic integration in Canadian society, fundamental changes will have to take place in such key areas as integration in primary and secondary schools, access to post-secondary education, job training, labour force participation, support for independent living, and participation in cultural and community life.

Although Canadian universities have implemented equity legislation and policies to improve access and accommodate persons with disabilities, stronger efforts are required to ensure the effectiveness of their implementation. The focus of this paper is to examine recent research conducted by Steele (1995) at Carleton University that indicates students with disabilities, particularly those with non-visible disabilities continue to experience numerous barriers including stigmata in their efforts to disclose and self-identify their disability and secure academic accommodations. The accommodation experiences of students with non-visible disabilities are examined in this paper using Goffman's (1963) theoretical linkages of the concepts of stigma and deviance in that:

> Goffman's contribution to the understanding of disability experiences can hardly be overstated. A great deal of more recent research elaborates or illustrates points he made decades earlier. By taking a stigma/deviance approach, Goffman brings to light the overriding theme of subsequent social science research, ie. that it is not the functional limitations of impairment which constitute the major problems faced by disabled individuals, but rather societal responses to it (Susman, 1994:16).

Conclusively, the author of this paper suggests that university support services and instructors negotiate the academic accommodations of students with disabilities within an interactional model. As well, the academic accommodation of students with disabilities should be understood within a human rights framework as a shared responsibility of the entire university community including support services, departments, faculties and instructors.

Accommodation of Students with Non-Visible Disabilities: Self-Disclosure, Stigma and the Equity Paradox

Goffman's (1959) concept of the "moral career," provides researchers with a useful way to examine the academic "career" of university students with disabilities in that the term links persons with disabilities to educational institutions (such as the university) and support services that are established to serve them. Goffman (1959) and labeling theorists frequently employ the concept of "moral career" and "career" in their research on stigma and discussions of deviant socialization processes. In discussing the nature of career, Goffman (1961:168 in Herman 1985:138) states that "The concept of career then, may be conceptualized as a movement of individuals through a social structure." Both Goffman (1961) and Hughes (1958) maintain that the concept of career is two sided in nature in that objectively, it can be conceived as a passage through various social roles and statuses and subjectively, individuals self-images and identities change as they move through different institutions and organizations (in Herman, 1985:138). The moral career of the university student with a disability involves the development of strategies for success while maintaining favorable definitions of self. These concerns may be as equally important to students with disabilities as securing academic accommodations.

Coping with stigma, discrimination or "the social meanings and practices" surrounding disability are fundamental considerations during the academic and moral career of persons with disabilities in the university environment. Stigma is defined by Goffman (1963 in Jacoby, 1994:269) as "an attribute that is deeply discrediting." Individuals who are stigmatized, such as persons with disabilities, possess "a trait that can obtrude itself upon attention and turn those of us whom he meets away from him, breaking the claim that his other attributes have on us."(Jacoby, 1994:269) Both Goffman (1963) and Becker (1963) see stigma as deriving from society's conceptualization of what constitutes differentness or deviance, resulting in the application by society of rules and sanctions against the individual thus labelled (Jacoby, 1994:269).

> The attitudes we normals have toward a person with a stigma, and the actions we take in regard to him, are well known, since these responses are what benevolent social action is designed to soften and ameliorate. By definition, of course, we believe the person with a stigma is not quite human. On this assumption we exercise varieties of discrimination, through which we effectively, if often unthinkingly, reduce his life chances. We construct a stigma-theory, an ideology to explain his inferiority and account for the danger he represents, sometimes rationalizing an animosity based on other differences, such as those of social class (Goffman, 1963:5).

Students with disabilities who experience discrimination in the university environment have recourse under the general non-discrimination provisions in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the Canadian Human Rights Act or the provincial human rights act that prohibit discrimination on specified grounds, including physical and mental disability (Vrlak, 1993:11-12). As Cook and Laski (1980 in Vrlak, 1993:32) note:

> Although discriminatory practices occur in many areas, such treatment is especially harmful in education, which traditionally has provided a means to participate in democracy. Since education can affect significantly a person's outlook and station in society, equality in the provision of education opportunities would seem to be fundamental to equality in other areas of life.

Neither federal, nor provincial laws directly acknowledging the rights of persons with disabilities to post-secondary education exist in Canada, therefore equality in the provision of educational opportunities is not ensured (Vrlak, 1993:6).

University accessibility for Canadians with disabilities varies depending on the school, province and the individual's disability (Donovan, 1988 in Nagler, 1990:377). According to Gladys Loewen (Donovan, 1988 in Nagler, 1990:377), founder of the Adult Special Education Network in British Columbia:

> Some universities appear to be highly accessible and have made huge efforts to provide for people with special needs. Other schools put it on the back burner.

The provision of services in the university setting has become an important issue as ever increasing numbers of persons with disabilities claim their right to an accessible post-secondary education. Such is the case with Carleton University in Ottawa. Carleton, with a total enrolment of 20,168 part-time and full-time students (Carleton University, 1995-1996:1), is currently working towards accommodating the particular needs of more than 700 students with disabilities. The Paul Menton Centre for Persons with Disabilities (PMC) is a major component of Carleton University's efforts to accommodate these students. PMC was established to provide educational and support services to students, faculty, and staff at Carleton. Before gaining access to PMC's services and resources, students with disabilities are required to make an appointment with a staff member (The Paul Menton Centre, 1995). Formal documentation consisting of a recent evaluation by a physician, psychiatrist or psychologist stating recommended academic accommodations appropriate to the university setting must be provided by the student to demonstrate service eligibility (The Paul Menton Centre, 1995). Herein lies the equity paradox in that, medical documentation and labelling play a fundamental role in determining and legitimizing the eligibility of services for students with disabilities while serving to "discredit" (Goffman, 1963) students and perpetuate their stigmatization.

Goffman (1963) argues that stigma and disability embrace a double perspective of the "discredited" (an individual whose differentness is evident or know about) and the "discreditable" (one whose differentness is not immediately apparent) (Jacoby, 1994:269). While individuals with visible disabilities may be seen as discredited, persons with non-visible disabilities may be seen as possessing a characteristic which is in

Goffman's terminology, potentially discreditable. For students with non-visible disabilities wishing to avoid the potentially discreditable effects (stigma and discrimination) of medical labelling in the university environment, "the key issue is the management of information about their condition: they must decide what they will disclose, when and to whom." (Jacoby, 1994:269) The disclosure of the medical label signifying disability often overshadows personal identity and becomes the individuals "master status" (Goffman, 1963; Schneider and Conrad, 1980; and Wright, 1960, 1983) in that "a person who has an impairment somehow gets lost to awareness and only the impairment itself remains seen."(Susman, 1994:19)

In order to avoid conflict and delays in negotiating academic accommodations for students with disabilities, the Paul Menton Centre suggests that the instructor and student agree early in the term upon a strategy regarding the completion of examinations and assignments (The Paul Menton Centre, 1995). Students with disabilities are responsible for resolving conflict with instructors and delays and, confirming that all accommodation arrangements have been completed. In the event that a final agreement about examination and in-class accommodations are not easily reached between the student and the instructor, PMC staff members are available for consultation (The Paul Menton Centre, 1995).

> When not in agreement with the decision of a department or professor, a student may appeal. Professors or departments may challenge the student's needs. While the appeal process is in progress, classes are still going on and students may be missing out on their learning experience (Steele, 1995:9).

The academic accommodation of students with disabilities is primarily negotiated by university support services and instructors within the medical model shown in Figure 1 (Gill, 1995). During the negotiation process of academic accommodations within this model, disability is perceived as negative and considered a deficiency that resides in the individual. Bickenbach (1993:61) writes:

> The most commonly held belief about disablement is that it involves a defect, deficiency, dysfunction, abnormality, failing or medical "problem" that is located in an individual. We think it is so obvious as to be beyond serious dispute that disablement is a characteristic of a *defective person*; someone who is functionally limited or anatomically abnormal, diseased, or pathoanotomical; someone who is neither whole nor healthy; fit nor flourishing, someone who is biologically inferior or subnormal.

The remedy within this model for disability-related problems is cure or normalization of the individual and the agent of remedy is the medical professional. On the contrary, within the interactional model, as shown in Figure 1 (Gill, 1995), disability is understood as a difference rather than an abnormality. In this model, disability derives from the interaction between the individual and society and, the remedy for disability-related problems exists in changing the interaction between the individual and society.

Medical Model	Interactional Model
Disability is a deficiency or abnormality	Disability is a difference
Being disabled as negative	Being disabled, in itself, is neutral
Disability resides in the individual	Disability derives from the interaction between the individual and society
The remedy for disability-related problems is cure or normalization of the individual	The remedy for disability related problems is a change in the interaction between the individual and society
The agent of remedy is the professional	The agent of remedy can be the individual, an advocate, or anyone who affects the arrangements between the individual and society

Figure 1: Gill's (1995) two contrasting models of disability

The interactional model allows for the agent of remedy to be the individual, an advocate, or anyone who affects the arrangements between the person with a disability and society. Hence, it offers fundamental conceptual elements that are necessary to eliminate barriers experienced by students with disabilities during the negotiation of academic accommodations with support services and instructors.

Non-Visible Disability and Accommodation: Carleton University's (1995) Human Rights Consultation Process

In 1995, a coordinating group at Carleton University comprised of representatives from the Carleton Disability Awareness Centre, the Paul Menton Centre, and the Status of Women Office, organized a public consultation process to address human rights concerns of students with disabilities at Carleton (Steele, 1995:6). This process was determined by the coordinating group as a method allowing the voices and experiences of students with disabilities to play a critical role in the development of human rights policy (Steele, 1995:6). The results of this process are reported in Steele's (1995) *Voices of Vision: A Collective Submission from Students with Disabilities for Future Human Rights Policy Formulation at Carleton* and will be examined in this section of the paper. The consultation process involved two focus groups to facilitate discussions around the experience of students with disabilities on campus with the view to making recommendations in the final report for a university policy regarding human rights (Steele, 1995:6). Thus, Steele's (1995:3) report is intended to assist policy makers with their roles in making more informed decisions and policies affecting students with disabilities.

Students with disabilities and service providers attended the sessions. Sign integration and attendant care were provided to facilitate full participation (Steele, 1995:6). A total of 24 self-selected individuals participated in the two sessions, 19 of the 24 participants identified themselves as having at least one disability and 19 of the 24 participants were students at Carleton (Steele, 1995:6). Each focus group reflected on and responded to a series of questions (prepared by Steele and the coordinating group) about their experiences in the university environment (Steele, 1995:6). Notes were kept by Steele (1995) to record the discussion and a confidential tape recording of the sessions was made to assist the researcher (Steele, 1995) with the completion of the report. Steele's (1995) report summarizes the responses provided by students with disabilities in the focus groups within three categories including: the learning experience as a student with disability, the issues or problems students have encountered and, the recommendations or proposed strategies for change that would improve the learning experience for students in the university environment.

According to the Steele (1995:8), all students with disabilities in the focus group agreed that having a disability presented barriers that made their educational experiences difficult. Some students expressed concerns and discomfort about the necessity to disclose or self-identify their disability to either their instructors or the PMC during the negotiation of academic accommodations, due to the pervasive stigma surrounding disabilities (Steele, 1995:10). During the negotiation process, students reported experiencing varying degrees of blame attached to their types of stigma and disability, as outlined by Goffman (1963) (Steele, 1995:10). Typically, students with physical or "tribal stigmas" are granted a measure of social acceptance because they are not considered to be personally responsible for what Goffman (1963) refers to as their "failing." (Page, 1984:6; Steele, 1995:10) However, students with "conduct stigmas" such as psychiatric disabilities are generally considered to be personally responsible for their "failings" because it is commonly believed that such individuals have deliberately chosen to behave in socially unacceptable ways (Page, 1984:6; Steele, 1995:10). In this sense, students with non-visible disabilities such as those of a psychiatric nature who disclose for purposes of securing academic accommodations, reported being treated unfavourably (Steele, 1995:10). Steele (1995:22) notes that "Students with non-visible disabilities on the surface, give the false appearance of 'normality', and therefore are perceived as 'not deserving' of the same 'privileges' granted to persons with visible disabilities."

The Paul Menton Centre's current classification of non-visible disability includes a broad range of disabilities such as: psychiatric and learning disability, head injuries, epilepsy, depression, anxiety, chronic fatigue syndrome, HIV-infections, lupus, and addiction recovery (Steele, 1995:22). The most common barrier reported by students with non-visible disabilities is the negative perception of their disability by others in the university environment (Steele, 1995:22). Students report that attitudes of instructors for the most part, determine whether or not they receive academic accommodations (Steele, 1995:22). The prevalent attitude towards students with non-visible disabilities is reported to be one of disbelief from instructors, in that these students are often required to provide expert documentation of their disability from a medical doctor, psychiatrist or clinical psychologist in order to receive accommodations while students with visible disabilities report that documentation is seldom required to negotiate accommodations (Steele, 1995:22).

In sum, research conducted by Steele (1995) indicates that despite equity legislation and policies to accommodate university students with disabilities, they continue to experience discrimination and stigmata. Future equity policy and practices in the university environment should be strengthened to promote equal opportunity and, dispel myths and misconceptions surrounding students with non-visible disabilities.

> To create equality of opportunity, we have to do different things for different people. We have to systematically eradicate the impediments to these options according to the actual needs of the different groups, not according to what we think their needs should be. And we have to give individuals an opportunity to use their abilities according to their potential and not according to what we think their potential should be. The process is an exercise in redistributive justice. Its object is to prevent the denial of access to society's benefits because of distinctions that are invalid (Abella 1984:4).

Thus, advancing the equitable treatment of university students with disabilities beyond rhetoric will require that their academic accommodations be understood within an interactional model and human rights framework as a shared responsibility of the entire university community including support services, departments, faculties and instructors.

References

Abella, R. (1984). *Equality in Employment: A Royal Commission Report.* Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada.

Bickenbach, J. (1993). *Physical Disability and Social Policy.* Toronto: University of Toronto.

Carleton University. (1995-1996). *Facts.* Ottawa: Carleton University.

Donovan, M. (1990)."How Accessible is an Education?" In M. Nagler, *Perspectives on Disability.* Palo Alto:Health Markets Research.

Gill, C. (1995). *Two Models of Disability: A Contrast.* Chicago: Chicago Institute of Disability.

Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity.* New York: Simon and Shuster, Inc.

Goffman, E. (1959). The Moral Career of the Mental Patient. *Psychiatry, 22,* 123-142.

Herman, N. (1985). *Crazies in the Community: An Ethnographic Study of Ex-Psychiatric Clients in Canadian Society--Stigma, Management Strategies; and Identity Transformation.* Hamilton: McMaster.

Jacoby, A. (1994). Felt Versus Enacted Stigma: A Concept Revisited. *Social Science and Medicine,* 38 (2), 269-274.

Page, R. (1984). *Stigma.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Paul Menton Centre. The, (1995). *Service for Persons with Non-Visible Disabilities.* Ottawa: The Paul Menton Centre.

Paul Menton Centre. The, (1994-1995). *Client Statistics.* Ottawa: The Paul Menton Centre.

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The, (1995). *The Integration of Persons with Disabilities.* Ottawa:SSHRCC.

Steele, Danette. (1995). *Voices of Vision: A Collective Submission from Students with Disabilities for Future Human Rights Policy Formulation at Carleton.* Ottawa: The Paul Menton Centre.

Susman, Joan. (1994). Disability, Stigma and Deviance. *Social Science and Medicine,* 30 (1), 15-22.

Vrlak, Ann. (1993). *A Proposal for Change: Legislation for Post Secondary Education for People with Disabilities.* Vancouver: British Columbia Educational Association of Disabled Students.

Lisa Hanna, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton University, 1125 Colonel By Drive, Ottawa, Ontario, K1S 5B6, lhanna@ccs.carleton.ca

Challenging or Reinforcing Maternal Ideologies? The Education of Women in the Field of Child and Youth Services

The area of child and youth services includes such fields of practice as residential care, youth justice, child life, day care, and early intervention. Post-secondary education programs in these fields are typically comprised of academic courses and practicum placements designed to provide students with a knowledge base necessary to function adequately as practitioners. In achieving this task the educational programs are a normative process whereby successful students are most likely to be those who articulate beliefs and values considered imperative to the nature of the field. Critical analyses of child and youth services have identified policies and practices as having often been detrimental to the interests of women, especially mothers of young children (Baines, Evans & Newsmith 1991; Lind & Prentice 1992; Ursel 1992). A concern, therefore, for educators in these fields, should be the role post-secondary programs might play in challenging or reinforcing dominant ideologies that have historically and contemporarily structured gender inequalities.

The following paper reports on the first component of a research project undertaken to investigate the extent to which students entering a post-secondary program in child and youth services, held traditional values and stereotypical beliefs toward maternal ideologies, particularly as they pertain to the issue of maternal employment. Traditional values define appropriate mothering behaviours as those whereby the mother takes on the majority of child care activities; mothering is priorized over employment; mother care is the most desirable form of care for the child. Stereotypical beliefs about mothering are concepts of reality that define mothering as instinctive, and define maternal employment as antagonistic to traditional values of mothering.

An understanding of child and youth service students' beliefs and values toward maternal ideologies is necessary for devising curriculum strategies that will act to transform this field of social services in a manner that is supportive, rather than hostile, towards women's needs. If students hold traditional values and stereotypical beliefs, the curriculum will need to be structured so as to introduce students to critical perspectives. If students are non-traditional and non-stereotypical in their attitudes toward maternal ideologies, the curriculum can focus on strategies for bringing together attitudes with practice. Failing to identify and acknowledge, as well as to value, traditional and stereotypical attitudes of students in a program that challenges dominant maternal ideologies, could result in alienating students from the process of transformation. If the program does not recognize attitudinal change that has already occurred amongst its students, the curriculum might not enable students to develop practices that correspond with their attitudes.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Sample: Questionnaires were distributed to all students attending the second class meeting of an 1995 introductory child and youth course in an Atlantic Canada university. The sample consisted of 97 students out of an enrollment of 98; there were 94 females, 2 males, and 1 person who did not specify her/his gender. Ninety-two percent of the sample was aged 18-34; 96% were white, 96% had no children, 95% were single, 56% had lived for the majority of their lives in a rural area. Total enrollment, and gender, race, and age ratios were typical of the distribution of students enrolled in the introductory course during previous years. It was not known how representative this sample was of previous classes in terms of family status. Students were asked for level of income, but confusion regarding whether they included parental income raises concerns about the validity of the responses. The information, therefore, is not reported here. In general, students attending the institution where the study was undertaken come from lower and middle income families.

Enrollment in the course was mandatory and limited to students registered in the child and youth program of study. Sixty-four percent were entering their first year of university study, 36% percent had transferred into the program from other university or college programs; 34% had taken child study and/or early childhood education courses, at the high school or post-secondary level, prior to enrolling in the introductory course. This level of transfer students in the course was similar to the 1994 academic year, which had seen an increase of approximately 30% over previous years. This increase was likely the result of recent closings of a number of education departments in Atlantic Canada universities, whereby students chose the child and youth program as an alternative career path. It is expected that this level of transfer students will remain stable in forthcoming years.

Procedure: Questionnaires were distributed by a faculty member, who was not teaching the introductory students that year. Students were given information orally and in written form about the purpose of the study and the voluntary and anonymous nature of participation. Terms used in the questionnaire were defined as follows: 1) "Employed" and "work" referred to full time, out of home paid labour. 2) "Mothers" referred to women who have children under 9 years of age living with them. 3) "Mothers who stay at home" referred to mothers who are not employed full time out of the home and/or are not running a full time home business. Each item on the survey was read out to the students as they completed the questionnaire.

Thirty-two questions were Likert-scale statements pertaining to issues such as maternal employment, child care, child development, parental responsibilities and mother-child relationships. Response possibilities were "strongly agree", "agree", "disagree", "strongly disagree", or "don't know". Respondents were also asked to rank items on a list of child care arrangements, to identify their primary concern as a child and youth professional, and to answer questions about political and gender consciousness. A variety of demographic information was also requested.

RESULTS

The findings from the study reveal that as a group and at an individual level, the respondents held contradictory beliefs and values toward maternal ideologies.

The division of attitudes at the group level are illustrated by two items assessing beliefs and values toward the maternal role. For the statement, "Mothers possess an inborn maternal instinct", 50% either agreed or strongly agreed; 30% either disagreed or strongly disagreed; 19% did not know. These responses indicate that stereotypical beliefs about the psycho-biological nature of motherhood remained strong amongst this group of students. That 19% "did not know" whether or not mothering was instinctive, might be evidence of the process of changing beliefs. For the statement, "Mothers are better suited than others to care for their children", 51% either disagreed or strongly disagreed; 45% either agreed or strongly agreed. As a group, respondents were more sure of their attitudes toward this value statement than the previous belief statement, with an almost even distribution in both attitudinal directions.

The researchers had thought that if respondents held the stereotypical belief that mothering was instinctive, they would also hold the traditional value that the mother was better suited than others to care for children. However, when individual responses to both these questions were compared, it was found that only 39% of those who either agreed or strongly agreed with one of the questions gave the same direction of response to the other question. That there was less than a majority correspondence in the direction of responses for these two questions suggests the holding of contradictory attitudes at the individual level.

In contrast to the direction of responses discussed above, value statements about issues of child care revealed a greater degree of non-traditional attitudes. Responses for particular statements were as follows:

- "A good mother cares for her children herself", 74% either disagreed or strongly disagreed.
- "Mothers should be primarily responsible for the care of children in the family", 91% either disagreed or strongly disagreed.
- "Day care should be available to all mothers who want to use it", 97% either agreed or strongly agreed.

Responses to these statements, and to the statement "Mothers are better suited than others to care for their children" imply a moderate to high level of non-traditional values toward the issue of child care. However, this direction of attitudes was inconsistent with responses to other value questions about child care. When asked to rank five child care choices in terms of what they considered to be the three most desirable for the child, 97% included "child stays home with mother and attends a part day nursery program"; 87% included "child remains at home with mother"; only 34% included "child attends a day care centre for the entire day". Despite the strong indication that the respondents thought mothers need not be the primary caregiver, answers to this question demonstrate the holding of traditional values about the best form of care for the child. The lack of support for day care suggests that the respondents do not view this as a preferred alternative to full time mother care.

Other attitudes that contradicted those supporting non-maternal care, were indicated in responses to statements about maternal employment. For the statement, "Mothers with children under the age of 3 should only work out of financial necessity", 49% either agreed or strongly agreed. If the child was aged 3-5 years the level of agreement that mothers should only work out of financial necessity was 34%. This declined to 7% if children were aged 6-8 years. To the statement, "Mothers should accommodate their employment to fit in with the child care needs of their children", 79% either agreed or strongly agreed.

These responses illustrate that a large proportion of the students held traditional values toward the employment status of mothers with young children. These contradicted their non-traditional value statements about appropriate mothering behaviours reported above.

The researchers had thought the students would hold stereotypical beliefs that children of employed mothers were less well cared for than children of mothers who stayed at home. However, this was not found to be so. Ninety-eight percent either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "It is possible for mothers to do a good job of both being employed and raising children." Statements regarding specific mothering behaviours were answered in a similar direction. The majority thought employed mothers were similar to stay-at-home mothers with regard to a) playing with their children (58% either agreed strongly agreed; 22% did not know); b) handling behavioral problems (65% either agreed or strongly agreed); c) providing consistent routines (70% either agreed or strongly agreed; 10% did not know); d) putting effort into child rearing (90% either agreed or strongly agreed; 5% did not know). The only strongly held negative attitude was toward meals, with 31% believing that employed mothers did not consistently prepare nutritious meals for their children.

The majority of students thought that children of employed mothers were as healthy and typically developing as children of mothers who stayed at home. Seventy percent either agreed or strongly agreed that there were similar levels of emotional attachment between children of employed mothers and children of mothers who stayed at home. Only 8% thought there were more behavioral problems, and only 14% thought there were more health problems amongst the children of employed mothers compared with children of mothers who stayed at home.

Given the extent of respondents' traditional values toward maternal employment and child care, the non-stereotypical beliefs about the behaviour of employed mothers and the development of their children was surprising. It appears that while the students thought mothers with young children should generally not be working, and that the children should be primarily in their mother's care, they did not think that maternal employment has negative repercussions for the children or for mother's caregiving behaviours. The authors were unable to determine from the survey the particular beliefs about mother care that would account for students' viewing it as being so important for children, or why women with children -- especially under five years of age -- should only work out of financial necessity. Their responses inform us that dominant maternal ideologies remain entrenched even in the presence of individually held conflicting attitudes, and in the absence of logical corresponding beliefs that would support the ideologies.

For the purpose of assessing attitudes toward the role of the child and youth professional, students were asked if their primary concern as such a professional should be a) the child and family, b) the individual child, c) the child and family in society. Forty four percent chose a; 35% chose c. While this suggests that the students' valued the role of family and society in children's lives, this did not appear to be associated with attitudes that would challenge dominant maternal ideologies.

Students' level of political consciousness was assessed with the question "In thinking about women as a group, would you say that there are problems of special concern to them which they need to work together to solve?" Sixty three percent said "yes". Of those, 86% agreed that the government should be doing more to help resolve those problems; 25% said maybe. While this indicates a high level of political consciousness toward the issue of gender, such consciousness was not as highly supported in terms of attitudes toward state support for child care. Thirty six percent either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the government taking financial responsibility for child care (52% either agreed or strongly agreed; 12% did not know); 56% either disagreed or strongly disagreed that mothers should be paid if they stay home to raise their children (25% either agreed or strongly agreed; 19% did not know).

Gender consciousness was assessed by asking female respondents how close they felt to women as a group. Nineteen percent (of 94 females) felt very close to women as a group; 60% felt somewhat close to women as a group. These responses indicate a moderate level of gender consciousness among the female students, but from other attitudes held, it is possible that group affiliation refers to women who hold traditional values and stereotypical beliefs toward maternal ideologies.

It is probable that students' responses to the survey were influenced by their desire to answer in accordance with what they thought were the researchers' attitudes. This may have been exacerbated by the research having been conducted by professors in these students' program of study (even though neither of the professors actually distributed in the survey), and during class time. This might also account for the inconsistency of attitudes. Since the students were new to the program, they would have had to guess at both the program values and researchers' beliefs.

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION

It is clear from this research that the students entered the program holding both traditional and non-traditional values, and stereotypical and non-stereotypical beliefs toward maternal ideologies. The most strongly held stereotypical beliefs were toward the importance of mother care for the child. Directly contradicting these were the students' attitudes that mothers need not be primarily responsible for child care, that day care should be available to mothers, and that maternal employment was not harmful to children. A major implication for child and youth service preparation programs, is incorporating an understanding of these contradictions into a curriculum that challenges dominant maternal ideologies without alienating students who hold such beliefs and values.

The conflicting beliefs and values found from this research are important to consider in determining a curriculum that would challenge traditional and stereotypical attitudes that are detrimental to women. While students might articulate beliefs about general aspects of gender equity, they might also hold in esteem practices that inhibit the materialization of social equity. In order to counter dominant maternal ideologies effectively, the curriculum would need to maintain the centrality of children, while at the same time raising students' critical understandings of how dominant maternal ideologies enter into child and youth service and their negative implications for women. The curriculum would also need to provide students with opportunities to explore the conflicts and contradictions in their own beliefs and values.

A counter-productive curriculum would likely be one that placed children's needs secondary to those of women. An approach that did not highly value the role of children in society or in women's lives might actually strengthen traditional values around issues of mothering such as maternal employment. Students that hold traditional values about mothering must also sense that such values have importance. If students get the impression their values are unworthy of serious consideration within the curriculum, or are the target of attack, they would likely withdraw from class participation and be unwilling to seriously consider alternative points of view.

In order to challenge dominant maternal ideologies through course content of child and youth service programs, instructors need to acknowledge and identify aspects of the curriculum that reproduce traditional and stereotypical attitudes. The child-centred focus of such programs needs to be examined from this critical perspective (Coffey & Acker 1991; Silin 1987; Singer 1992). The term "child-centred" refers to a philosophical outlook whereby the child is viewed as the ultimate object in the provision of service. While the child might be viewed as a member of a family system and a social system, it is the child as an individual entity around whose needs services are built. The child-centred philosophy is largely directed by the knowledge base of psychology (Silin 1987), a discipline that has both created and reproduced dominant maternal ideologies. The child-centred philosophy with its knowledge base of psychology in many ways supports and extends the commonsense knowledge of students who hold traditional values and stereotypical beliefs about mothering.

While the child-centred philosophy poses problems for challenging dominant maternal ideologies, it probably should not simply be discarded since its emphasis on the child's needs is valued by the students. However, course content must provide students with the analytical tools to recognize the limitations of the focus and its contributions to negative images of women. What is also essential, is that course content builds on the child-centred focus in order to provide a multi-foci curriculum.

Such a child and youth service curriculum would require that critical approaches to the field be addressed within the program itself. Often it seems that other curriculum areas, such as women's studies and sociology are given the responsibility of challenging dominant ideologies. It is then expected that students' will transfer the knowledge to another subject area. Such expectations often remain unfulfilled. The implications for women emanating from dominant maternal ideologies need to be confronted by all students in child and youth service programs. If such challenges are taken up within child and youth service courses, students would likely get the message that they do have to seriously consider such critiques.

The findings from this research have provided an intriguing look into attitudes held by students entering a child and youth service program of study, and have provided information for reviewing the curriculum content of such programs. Further survey research with upper year students, as well as interview research is being conducted in order to investigate the issues in more detail.

REFERENCES

Baines, C., Evans, P. and Newsmith, S. (Eds., 1991). *Women's caring: Feminist perspectives on social welfare.* Tor: McClelland & Stewart.

Coffey, A. J. and Acker, S. (1991). 'Girlies on the warpath': addressing gender in initial teacher education. *Gender and Education, 3*:249-261.

Hayden, J. (1991). Gender equality versus motherhood ideology: child care implications. *Early Child Development and Care, 76*:105-115.

Lind, L. and Prentice, S. (1992). *Their rightful place: an essay on children, families and childcare in Canada.* Tor: Our Schools/ Our Selves.

Silin, J. G. (1987). The Early Childhood Educator's Knowledge Base: A Reconsideration. In L. G. Katz (Ed.) *Current topics in early childhood education*, pp. 17-31. New Jersey: Ablex.

Singer, E. (1992). *Child-care and the psychology of development*, trans. by Ann Porcelijn. NY: Routledge.

Ursel, J. (1992). *Private lives, public policy: 100 years of state intervention in the family.* Tor: Women's Press.

Donna Varga and Harriet Field, Dept. Child & Youth Study,
Mount Saint Vincent University, Halifax, NS., B3M 2J6,
ph. (902) 457-6325 or (902) 457-6548, fax (902) 445-3960,
e-mail DONNA.VARGA@MSVU.CA; HARRIET.FIELD@MSVU.CA.

Comparable statistics from the United States provided by the Chronicle of Higher Education (1995) indicated that women occupied 16.2% of the full professor positions in 1992. This is considerably higher than the 9.1% for Canadian institutions.

Administrative advancement for women at universities has also been elusive. In her study of male and female managers within U.S. universities, Stover (1993) found that women were significantly more likely to be found managing declining and therefore less prestigious departments, positions which were even sometimes seen as hazardous to the career advancement of incumbents. These departments also typically had comparatively small budgets and therefore lower salaries as well, conditions which made the jobs less attractive to men. Stover suggested that "To the extent that female managers are denied access to more powerful, and thus more visible and influential departments, they will be hampered in their future mobility. Women's apparent failure in hierarchical advancement may be more due to the characteristics and organizational location of their jobs rather than their own shortcomings" (p. 339).

Ruth Rees, an Associate Dean at a medium sized Canadian university, published a candid report of her experiences in *Women and Leadership in Canadian Education* (Reynolds & Young, 1995). She was the first woman to fill this position in the 25-year history of the department, and the only female in its administrative structure. From this location, she saw female faculty discriminated against in terms of recruitment and hiring, as well as tenure, promotion and review; in resource allocation, and in the habitual use of exclusive language. Her male colleagues also refused to allow her admittance to their mutual support club, excluding her from the benefits they derived from informal networking.

At the University of Saskatchewan (U. of S.), there are 70 departments and 14 colleges. In April of 1996, there were only 2 (3%) women department heads (Art and Modern Languages) and 2 (14%) woman deans (Nursing and Graduate Studies). In 1995, university data indicate that 20% of the full-time faculty and 45% of sessional appointments were women. In the College of Education, 22% of faculty appointments and 52% of sessionals were women - a discipline where women have earned between 46 and 55% of doctoral degrees in each of the years since 1989.

The CAUT (April, 1996) presented a 1994 statistical profile for 66 universities throughout Canada. The proportion of women faculty in tenured, tenure track and contract positions ranged from 5.5% at Royal Rhodes Military College to 66.7% at Hearst. However, a median for all 66 universities described in the CAUT statistical profile would be 23.5%. The median for the universities in Ontario was also 23.5%. Unfortunately our home university, U. of S., ranked 51 out of 66 in the proportion of women faculty.

The New Generation

The Chronicle of Higher Education (1996) published an article reporting on the new generation - postsecondary faculty hired between 1986 and 1992, in the first seven years of their career, and teaching full-time in colleges and universities. This report was based on data from the National Centre for Education Statistics in the United States, which was compiled in 1992 and published as the *1993 National Study of Postsecondary Faculty*. The study found that 34% of the entire professoriate in the United States belonged to the new generation - a larger number than was expected. Of the new generation, 45% were hired at research and doctoral institutions, 24% at master's universities, 19% at two-year colleges, 8% at liberal-arts colleges, and the rest at other institutions. Women made up 41% of the new-faculty generation, compared to 28% of senior faculty and the majority of these newly hired women were at community and liberal arts colleges. Only one-third of the "new hires at doctoral institutions are women" (p. 18). As well, among the new hires, only 41% of the women have doctorates, compared to 59% of the men. The opportunity for tenure is less for the new generation, as a third of the junior academics, compared to 15.8 per cent of the senior faculty, are not even in positions where they are eligible for tenure. The study reported that at both the senior and junior levels women are "far more likely to be employed in non-tenure track positions than males" (p. 18). As a final discouraging note, while "28 per cent of the newly hired men already hold tenure, only 16 per cent of the newly hired women do" (p. 18). The authors of the original report concluded that the new generation is diversifying along ethnic grounds more quickly than along gender lines.

Although similar statistics are not published for Canada, the newly created University of Northern British Columbia (UNBC) may provide a hint of the Canadian situation. While women faculty members made up 20% of the tenured faculty at British Columbia's four universities, women represented 54.8% of the total tenured staff in 1993 at UNBC (Ministry of Women's Equality, Province of British Columbia, 1993) and 35.7% (CAUT, 1996) of all faculty positions. The proportion of the tenure positions held by women at the provinces other three universities that were established earlier was 19.3%, 18.5% and 23.7%. Having a Ministry in place to deal with gender issues in the province, and having many open positions and a welcoming organizational culture made a difference in the proportion of women hired. It is hoped that this success can be regarded as setting a new trend for the future.

Other universities do not report the same level of success. For example, the U. of S. where the proportion of women full-time faculty (Gender Equity Report, 1996) has continued to rise, from 15.4% in 1989-90 to 17.4% in 1992-93; 18.3% in 1993-94, and 20.11% in 1995-96, reported that about a third of new hirings over the past five years have been women (see Table 3).

Table 3. Share of Women Hired in Academic Positions Between 1990 and 1993, U. of S.

	Women		Total	Cumulative
1990-1993	Number	%	Number	%
Professor	2	9%	22	9%
Associate Professor	11	23%	47	19%
Assistant Professor	120	40%	303	36%
Lecturer	41	44%	94	37%
Instructor	30	58%	52	39%

Progress in Elementary and Secondary Schools

In Canada, although women teachers are represented in higher numbers in administrative positions than they were a decade ago, they are still vastly under represented by comparison to men. Looking at the decade from 1982-83 compared to 1992-93 and using data which excluded Quebec (Canadian Teacher's Federation, 1996), the share of women vice-principals increased from 17.35 to 34.8%, when elementary and secondary school figures were averaged (42.8% in elementary schools and 22.9% in secondary schools in 1992-93); and women principals increased from 13.45 to 24.1% (27.6% in elementary school and 12.9% in secondary schools in 1992-93). Consequently, much greater gains were made in elementary administrative positions held by women compared to those held in secondary schools. As well, significantly larger numbers of women have reached the level of vice-principal compared to those numbers of women who have become principals. The proportion of women in department head positions increased from 22.2% to 33.2% during the same decade. While 30% of all school-based administrators are women, this is still considerably different from the proportion that might be expected, being 65%, the proportion of teachers who are women. And it isn't only secondary schools that are culpable; in elementary schools, three-quarters of teachers are women and only one-third of administrators are women.

In Quebec, while there has been a decrease in the proportion of women in school-based administration from 59% in 1958-59 to 25% in 1984-85, data suggest an increase to 28% in 1990-91 (Baudoux, 1995).

In Saskatchewan during 1994-95, 6 out of 29 superintendents (21%); 9 out of 94 directors (10%); 26% of principals; 36% of vice-principals; and, 61% of all teachers were women (Saskatchewan Teacher's Federation, 1994-95). The unpublished preliminary information was not broken down between elementary and secondary schools. Similar data for British Columbia showed that in 1993-94 24% of principals, and 32% of vice-principals were women, whereas 67% of classroom teachers were women (Ministry of Women's Equality, 1994). It can be fairly said that higher status, higher power, and higher paying jobs in schools are still being filled disproportionately by men.

In Canada, the decrease in the number of educator positions including administration (CTF, 1996) is having an effect on the proportion of women in central office positions. Looking only at proportions for the Saskatchewan data would lead one to believe that serious progress was being made. The proportion of district-level administrators increased from 12.3% in 1992-93 to 15.2% in 1994-95. However, the actual increase in positions held by women was from 20 to 23, while the total number of positions decreased from 162 to 151. Consequently the percentage gain for women was due to an increase of 3 women in district-level administration and a decrease of 11 in the total number of positions.

Community Colleges

Twombly (as cited in Townsend, 1995) confirmed what became obvious in doing a literature review related to community colleges in both Canada and the United States, that "women community college faculty are almost unstudied" (p. 40). Whereas some statistical information was available for community colleges in the United States, the absence of any such information was noted in the Human Resource Study of the Canadian Community Colleges and Institutes Sector (1993). This lack of data is reminiscent of the report of Hansot and Tyack in 1981 (as cited in Shakeshaft, 1989) in which they observed that "data by sex became strangely inaccessible" for the National Education Association and other agencies that collected it, denoting "a conspiracy of silence that could hardly have been unintentional" (p. 21). As Shakeshaft pointed out, it is difficult to denote a problem related to the number of women in administrative positions, and to propose remedies, when no figures are available to substantiate that there is a discrepancy in the first place. The literature on other gender issues in community colleges was also scanty, and in Canada, almost non-existent.

The most recent figures relating to numbers of men and women being employed in community colleges in the United States were discussed earlier, in conjunction with the information on universities, since that is how it was presented. Data from 1991-92 in the United States indicated that 2-year colleges employed 45% women faculty members, compared to 35% in 4-year colleges offering a B.A., and 26% in doctoral institutions (Touchton & Davis, as cited in Townsend, 1995). According to Townsend, "Both male and female two-year faculty are often seen by four-year faculty as marginal members of academe" (p. 42). The data showed that, the more prestigious and higher paying the jobs in community colleges, the less likelihood there was for women obtaining them, which duplicated the situation in universities. Townsend stated that this was because "these attitudes are part of the sociocultural environment in which higher education institutions operate" (p. 43).

Although community colleges were "heralded as the democratizing force in higher education" they "have been slow to bring women and minorities into top leadership positions in proportion to their representation as faculty and students" (Twombly, 1995; p. 68). Twombly and Amey in 1992 (as cited in Twombly, 1995) believed that this was due to the images historically connected with community college leadership, which were mainly "wartime metaphors" (p. 70), along with frontier and pioneer images, and the fact that it was difficult for members of our society to see women fitting these roles.

Conclusion

Of the three types of educational institutions examined in this paper, community colleges were most in need of consciousness raising in relation to gender issues. Universities, elementary and secondary school systems have at least acknowledged gender issues, and are engaged in ongoing discussions and negotiations related to gender equity for staff and students alike. All educational institutions have a long way to go to reach consistent application of gender equitable practices.

While progress is being made filling academic positions with women, this progress is painfully slow. Women's low representation among full professors in 1995 (9%) has more than doubled since 1960 (4%). At this rate, by 2030 we should have captured 20% of full professor positions. This is not the situation we want to leave for our daughters and other young women academics.

Why is it so important to take our temperature in 1996? One reason, which relates to universities, is that the age profile of academic staff has shifted steadily upwards. As half of the faculty at many universities are now over 50 years of age, the number of faculty retirements each year continues to increase. If the proportion of women in full-time tenure track positions is to increase, the change must occur now - before we fill our universities with men again.

A second reason is the marginal success of affirmative action or additional attention paid to hiring women faculty. If the success of affirmative action can be measured by the increase in the proportion of women at universities from 1992-93 to 1994-95 (21.64 to 22.30), this attention has not been successful enough. Consequently we must remain vigilant and not succumb to the backlash which claims that men are at a considerable disadvantage in achieving faculty positions.

The dismal number of women in administration, whether in school divisions, community colleges, or universities is another reason for taking our temperature and examining what it is that we can do to change this situation.

A final reason is to suggest the importance of examining the new generation of hires in education faculties in our home institutions. If the proportion of women hired into these positions does not exceed 60%, the replacement rate would be less than the percentage of women doctoral students in education. We can then never hope to reach a fair level of placement in all ranks. It is extremely important that in this traditional field the gender balance be rectified and we are the ones who must assure this happens.

References

Association of Canadian Community Colleges. (1993). *Human resource study of the Canadian community colleges and institutes sector* (No. LM-296-0993E).Ottawa: Price Waterhouse.

Baudoux, C. (1995). Diminishing participation by women as school administrators in Quebec. In C. Reynolds, & B. Young (Eds.), *Women and Leadership in Canadian Education* (pp. 63-82). Calgary, Alberta: Detselig.

Canadian Association of University Teachers (April, 1994). *Statistical profile of women in Canadian academe*. Canadian Association of University Teachers' Bulletin, Status of Women Supplement. Ottawa, Author.

Canadian Association of University Teachers (1996). *Statistical profile: Women in post-secondary education*. Canadian Association of University Teachers' Bulletin, Status of Women Supplement, 43 (4). Ottawa: Author

Canadian Teachers' Federation (January, 1996). *Economic service notes*, 1996-1. Ottawa: Author.

Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac. (1995, September). *The nation: Faculty and staff.* Author.

University of Saskatchewan, (April, 1995). *Annual report on employment equity*. Saskatoon: Author

Magner, D. (1996). The new generation. *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 42(21), A17-18.

Ministry of Women's Equality. (1994). *Women count: A statistical profile of women in British Columbia* (2nd ed.). Victoria, British Columbia: Author.

Rees, R. (1995). Systemic discrimination in a university. In C. Reynolds, & B. Young (Eds.), *Women and Leadership in Canadian Education* (pp. 33-44). Calgary, Alberta: Detselig.

Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation (1992, May). Gender equity and the teaching profession. Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Author.

Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation (1995). *Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation: Women in Educational Administration, 1994-95*. Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Author.

Shakeshaft, C. (1989). *Women in educational administration*. Newbury Park, California: Sage.

Stover, D. (1993, June). The horizontal distribution of female managers within universities. In K. Comer & K. Gilbert (Co-chairs), *Gender issues in the classroom and on the campus: Focus on the 21st century*. Symposium conducted at the meeting of the American Association of University Women, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Townsend, B.K. (1995). Gender and power in the community college. In S.B. Townsend (Ed.), *New Directions for Community Colleges* (89, pp 39 - 46). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Twombly, S.B. (1995). Gendered images of community college leadership: What messages they send. In B.K. Townsend, (Ed.), *New Directions for Community Colleges* (89, pp. 67 - 76). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Ward, K. (1993, June). Women faculty: Socialization and the tenure process. In K. Comer & K. Gilbert (Co-chairs*), Gender issues in the classroom and on the campus: Focus on the 21st century*. Symposium conducted at the meeting of the American Association of University Women, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Authors

Marilyn McDougall and Vivian Hajnal, College of Education, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, SK, S7N 0X1, 306-966-7611, Vivian.hajnal@usask.ca

Sexual Harassment of Female School Administrators

Those dirty little words again -- sexual harassment. Reports from businesses, industries, universities, the military, the sports world abound with stories of women (and an occasional man) who encounter what they perceive as sexual harassment in the workplace. Although the term "sexual harassment" is relatively new, the concept reaches back thousands of years. In the very first book of the Bible, sexual harassment is introduced. Joseph was harassed by his "master's" wife, who asked him to "Lie with me." After repeated solicitations and his continued rejections, she accused him anyway (Genesis 39: 7-19). The Biblical figure Ruth was protected from sexual harassment by her future husband Boaz. As she worked in his fields, he assured her that he had commanded the young men working there not to touch her (Ruth 2:9).

In the United States, court records reveal that sexual harassment has a long history. Webb (1991) relates that in 1734 several female servants published a notice in the *New York Weekly Journal* which read "We think it reasonable we should not be beat by our mistresses' husbands, they being too strong and perhaps may do tender women mischief" (p. 4). Although "mistresses' husbands" may no longer be the typical problem, sexual harassment in the United States has increased, awareness of its occurrence heightened by a number of factors, among them the doubling of the size of the female work force (from 22 million in 1959 to 57 million in 1991) and civil rights legislation which protects employees from sex discrimination. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Title IX of the 1972 Educational Amendments prevent employers from discriminating on the basis of sex (among other things) (Wishnietsky, 1994)) and by extension, prohibit sexual harassment. The very first sexual harassment case in the United States was *Corne v. Baush & Lomb, Inc.*, but it failed to help the cause of the harassed because the court saw the behavior of the harassing supervisor as simply his personal problem; the court called his conduct "a personal proclivity, peculiarity, or mannerism" (Webb, p. 6).

Finally, in 1976, the courts (*Williams v. Saxbe*) established a cause for action (deprivation of a tangible benefit) for sexual harassment (Webb, 1991). Webb sites case after case in the 1970's, 1980's and 1990's that extended the protections against sexual harassment, including the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's (EEOC) *Guidelines on Discrimination Because of Sex.*

The role of the EEOC in the fight against sexual harassment has been significant. In their regulations they base sexual harassment on three types of situations. Sexual harassment is

> Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal and physical conduct of a sexual nature when:
>
> (1) submission to such conduct is made either explicitly or implicitly a term or condition of an individual's employment;
>
> (2) submission to or rejection of such conduct by an individual is used as the basis for employment decisions affecting such individual, or

(3) such conduct has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's work performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment. (Lewis, Hastings, & Morgan, 1992, pp. 5-6).

These conditions, then, establish two forms of sexual harassment: *quid pro quo* and hostile environment. *Quid pro quo* sexual harassment implies a power relationship. It is the exchange (or threat) of jobs, job security, promotion, and other tangible rewards for sexual favors. It involves the supervisor and the supervisee -- be it superintendent v. principal, principal v. teacher, or teacher v. student. Hostile environment sexual harassment, on the other hand, may occur between equals and may not involve tangible consequences. It "involves an unreasonable interference with an individual's work performance through unwanted, personally offensive sexual behavior from supervisors, subordinates, coworkers, or non-employees which creates an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment" (Brocato, 1995, p. 27). Hostile environment sexual harassment may include unwelcome sexual advances, sexist statements and other sexist, degrading behaviors (Perry, 1993).

Whether or not a behavior is classified sexually harassing is typically based on three standards (Lewis, et al, 1992):

1) Is it a welcomed or unwelcomed behavior? Sexual harassment is not mutual behavior which both parties enjoy.

2) How severe or pervasive was the behavior? Unless the harassment is clearly severe (rape, for example), the harassee typically must show that the behavior was repeated. For example, the court ruled that the following case was pervasive enough to constitute sexual harassment although the harassment took the form of "only" verbal insults: The supervisor called a pregnant employee a "dog" and a "whore" and told her "that's what you get for sleeping without your underwear" (p. 10).

3) How reasonable is the claim of sexual harassment? In other words, would a reasonable person consider the behavior to be sexually harassing? The reasonableness test, however, is fraught with problems since people have different perceptions of what constitutes harassing behaviors.

The accepted notion is that once women "make it to the top" administratively they are no longer subjected to sexually harassing behaviors they experienced "on their way up." Johnson's study (1994) of South Carolina female school administrators indicated that was not the case. Therefore, in 1995, the researcher undertook a nation-wide study to ascertain the prevalence of sexual harassment among public school administrators throughout the United States. The study was comprehensive in that it looked at instances of sexual harassment against both males and females and sought to elucidate the differences between the perceptions men and women hold as to what constitutes sexual harassment. This paper, however, will concentrate on three major questions.

1. What behaviors do female school administrators perceive to be sexually harassing?

2. What sexually harassing behaviors have female school administrators experienced?

3. What is the hierarchical status and sex of the person who participated in sexually harassing acts against female school administrators?

In order to answer the questions, a survey, "Administrator's Perception and Experience with Sexual Harassment," was adapted from Johnson's (1994) original and mailed to a random sample of 3000 administrators (1500 male/1500 female) serving as superintendents, principals, and assistant principals in the United States. Although ,the return rate seems low (23%), it is typical for surveys of a sensitive nature with only one mailing (Johnson).

The women were asked to respond to 12 behaviors in terms of whether or not they thought the behaviors were sexually harassing. Only one of the twelve behaviors was not considered to always be sexually harassing by a majority of the respondents. Only 20.6% of them thought that telling suggestive stories or offensive jokes was always sexually harassing. Almost everyone agreed that sexual bribery (93.9%) and sexual coercion (93.9%) were always sexually harassing behaviors. Table 1 provides a rank ordering of the behaviors considered to be sexually harassing.

The women were asked to identify the sexually harassing behaviors (from a list of 19) they had experienced while they were school administrators. Ten of the behaviors were experienced by at least 20% of the respondents (Table 2). The sexually harassing behaviors these women experienced ranged from oral and written remarks, to staring, to touching. Nearly 65% of them reported that co-workers told suggestive or offensive jokes in their presence. Seventy-seven percent felt that they had been treated differently because they were women. Fortunately, fewer than 1% of the respondents had been forced to have intercourse. But, that's three female administrators! And, for two of them, it happened more than once.

When the data were analyzed in terms of the hierarchical position of the harasser (higher, lower, the same), it was found that for only four behaviors was the harasser more often someone of higher rank than the person harassed. They, more than any other group, participated in 1) attempting to establish a romantic relationship; 2) touching, fondling, kissing, grabbing; 3) treating the woman differently because of her gender; and 4) making the woman feel uncomfortable through deliberate (but non-sexual) touching. In only one case-making crude or offensive sexual remarks about the woman to others or spreading rumors about her-was the major offender a person of lower status. In all other cases, a plurality was committed by a person of the same rank.

The women were also asked the sex of the person who harassed them. More often than not, the harasser was a person of the opposite sex, so for this sample, the harasser was typically a male. It is interesting to note, however, that 23% of the women reported sexual harassment by other women in the form of "crude or offensive sexual remarks or rumors." Over 30% of the respondents reported that they had been harassed by both males and females in that the worker "told suggestive stories or offensive jokes" (33.5%) and "displayed, used, or distributed sexist or suggestive materials" (30.7%).

This study shows that sexual harassment continues to play a big role in the lives of female leaders. Schools are supposed to be safe places, places where people can grow to their full potential - be it children, teachers, or leaders. If our leaders are experiencing the outrageous levels of sexual harassment as reported here, one can only wonder what school is like for our children, most of them innocent, inexperienced, and certainly not prepared for what awaits them in those not-so-hallowed halls of school.

TABLE 1

BEHAVIORS CONSIDERED TO BE SEXUALLY HARASSING
(N=342)

BEHAVIOR	PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS
Sexual bribery (a reward is offered for being sexually cooperative or threat of punishment for not being cooperative)	93.9
Sexual coercion (sexual activity by threat of punishment)	93.9
Personal sexual insinuations or innuendoes	81.1
Unwelcomed seductive behavior (e.g., making suggestive remarks, offering to give you a back rub)	80.9
Explicit sexual propositions (clear invitation with no threat)	77.4
Physical advances (touching, pinching, kissing, hugging, etc)	73.2
Repeated invitations (e.g., asking for dates, "dropping by," continually calling)	70.9
Seductive or suggestive remarks about appearance, body, sexual activities	68.9
Displaying, using, or distributing sexist or suggestive materials	67.7
Staring, leering, ogling	67.2
Sexist remarks (e.g., women are too emotional to assume leadership roles)	50.9
Suggestive stories or offensive jokes	20.6

TABLE 2

SEXUALLY HARASSING BEHAVIORS EXPERIENCED BY 20% or MORE OF THE RESPONDENTS

BEHAVIOR	PERCENT OF WOMEN EXPERIENCING		
	NEVER	ONCE	>ONCE
1. Another worker told suggestive or offensive jokes	15.5	5.0	79.5
2. Another worker treated you differently because of your gender	23.0	6.4	70.6
3. Another worker made crude sexual remarks publicly, privately, or in written form	45.9	8.5	45.6
4. Another worker made seductive remarks about your appearance, body, or sexual activities	54.9	8.0	37.1
5. Another worker deliberately touched you in a way that made you feel uncomfortable	63.7	8.3	28.0
6. Another worker displayed, used, or distributed sexist or suggestive materials	66.0	8.1	25.9
7. Another worker extended unwanted sexual attention	71.9	10.5	17..6
8. Another worker was staring, leering, or ogling you in a way that was inappropriate, or that made you feel uncomfortable	72.9	8.7	18.4
9. Another worker "propositioned" you	76.6	10.7	12.7
10. Another worker made you a target of sexual insinuations or innuendoes	79.3	5.0	15.7

References

Brocato, F. C. (1995). A wink for the teacher: Sexual harassment of teachers in public schools. *National Forum of Educational Administration and Supervision Journal, 12*, (3) 25-35

Johnson, R. A. (1994). *A study of the perceptions and prevalence of sexual harassment of female administrators in public schools.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

Lewis, J. F., Hastings, S. C. & Morgan, A. C. (1992). *Sexual Harassment in Education.* Topeka, KS: National Organization on Legal problems of Education.

Perry, N. W. (1993). Sexual harassment on campus:; Are your actions actionable? *Journal of College Student Development, 34*, 406-410.

Webb, S. L. (1991). *Step forward: Sexual harassment in workplace.* Mastermedia.

Wishnietsky, D. H. (1994). *Establishing school policies on sexual harassment.* Bloomington, IN: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation.

Authors:
Dr. Sandra Tonnsen
Associate Professor
University of South Carolina
Wardlaw 309
Columbia, SC 29208
(803) 777-3086
FAX (803) 777-3090
e-mail: S230012@univscvm.csd.sc.edu

Dr. Rosalind P. Hale
Assistant Professor
University of South Carolina
Wardlaw 306
Columbia, SC 29208
(803) 777-6993
FAX (803) 777-3090
e-mail: Rhale@sc.edu

Working with Similarity and Difference:

The Importance of an Analysis of Difference in Supporting Individual Change

This paper is based on research conducted between the fall of 1993 and the spring of 1994. The study describes the experiences of 58 program participants and 4 group workers in a community-based group program for women receiving social assistance. I have identified the program by the pseudonym "Transitions".

I begin the paper with a brief description of my methodology and a general introduction to the literature on feminist pedagogy and, more particularly, feminist classroom practices. I then shift focus to the Transitions groups, describing how group workers facilitated the development of a mutually supportive and inclusive environment for Transitions participants by employing many of these practices. Collaboration, privileging women's experience over other forms of knowledge, as well as working to equalize power relations between the group worker and the group and across group members are examples of this type of practice. I raise questions about how these practices emphasized similarities among women and downplayed their differences and, more importantly, their inequalities.

I argue that this foregrounding of similarity contributed to the maintenance of a hierarchy which worked covertly to isolate some women who were perceived as "different" or "other". Without a more critical approach to addressing power relations, I speculate whether the feelings of blame and shame which women generally were able to set aside during the course of the program had the potential to return and to limit individual change. I argue that the power associated with relations among women in their larger communities and society as a whole are always present in classrooms and other settings where women study, learn and even work. Feminist pedagogical practices which emphasize equalizing power can make the learning environment, at best, more inclusive compared to other settings, but the democracy of the setting is more apparent than real. Strategies which acknowledge the operations of power within a setting and work to counter it can support deeper learning about the structures and processes which can limit women's choices and actions. While daunting, this awareness can help support women who are attempting to implement significant changes in their lives which will bring them in conflict with these structures and processes. Without this awareness, the risk is that women will read set-backs and miscues in their plans as signs that they themselves are failures.

Methodology

My primary methodology was participant observation supported by individual interviews of group participants, group workers and other program staff, as well as a review of documents, such as program policies and procedures. More specifically, I "co-facilitated" 4 iterations of the Transitions program (that is, 4 series of 14 half-day-long sessions involving a core group of 8 to 10 women per series). A total of 58 women attended the four group sessions, some for only 1 or 2 sessions, with 35 actually completing the program. Each group was offered in a different location, and each was facilitated by a different group worker. My involvement at the program sites totalled 50 sessions and approximately 150 observation hours over the course of 9 months. I approached participants for interviews at two different times: on completion of the program and three months later. By interviewing the same women twice, I attempted to gain a sense of how women's perspectives changed as time passed.

Feminist Pedagogy

The choice of program methods connects Transitions with feminist pedagogy. However, those directly involved with the organization which operates the program likely would see Transitions as an example of feminist group work and therefore allied with social work rather than education. Yet feminist community-based service organizations often practice a type of feminist pedagogy based in consciousness-raising although these organizations are unrecognized within the growing body of feminist literature on this subject.

This literature focuses primarily on feminist pockets within the formal educational system. The preponderance of literature focusing on the university level already has generated some concern among feminist writers (for example, Kenway & Modra, 1992 and Gore, 1992). Within women's studies, Kenway and Modra (1992) identify two styles of pedagogical theorizing:

> ...first, that which in effect equates pedagogy with classroom processes, and second, that which is essentially Freirean/liberatory. We do not, however, see these as mutually exclusive or claim epistemological superiority for one or other of them (p. 150).

The choice of a community-based service organization as the focus for the case study described in this paper aims at both challenging and contributing to feminist pedagogical theory, particularly the literature associated with classroom processes. Many of the methods identified with feminist classroom processes or practices were part of the Transitions approach. Some of the feminist scholars associated with this approach are Bunch and Pollack (1983), Culley, Diamond, Edwards, Lennox, and Portuges (1985), Schniedewind (1987) and Shrewsbury (1987). Recently, Shrewsbury introduced the 1993 special issue of the *Women's Studies Quarterly* with a definition of feminist pedagogy as "a theory about the teaching/learning process that guides our choice of classroom practices" (p. 8) and further described these practices as participatory and democratic. In Shrewsbury's view, feminist classrooms build on the experiences of participants and encourage reflection; they are safe and nurturing or caring environments where students are able to engage in critical thinking and take risks because power is a positive force for change rather than a force for domination. Schniedewind (1993), in an article in the same issue of *Women's Studies Quarterly*, added: "Because feminism seeks to replace hierarchical forms of authority with shared leadership, skills for democratic decision making are essential. Cooperation rather than competition distinguishes feminist process" (p. 18).

Feminist Practice at Transitions

The situation of women receiving social assistance is markedly different from the situation and experience of many women students participating in women's studies at the university level—the focus of so much feminist pedagogical theorizing. While women university students may be dealing with various types of oppression in their lives, they also have met with some "success" in the formal educational system. By comparison, the majority of women completing the Transitions program generally had not completed high school though a quarter had some post-secondary education, usually at the community college level. Also, the welfare system and its underpinnings in patriarchy, capitalism, racism and other oppressions was a palpable force limiting their present lives and their life choices. For example, one woman told me how she would arrive at the bank one minute before it closed on the day she received her social assistance cheque, so that she could avoid, as much as possible, having people see her, such was her shame. At the same time, she told me about her decision to apply for assistance and her ambivalence about receiving it:

> **Shelley:** Well, I didn't [receive assistance] when I had Shane. I refused because I'd been living at home, so I didn't really need to. And, people were saying no....But when I had to go on with Jeff, I phoned them and they were kind of mad. They were very nice, I mean they were very nice. I never had a bad experience with them, but she goes, "Why didn't you call us when you had your first?" Like, "Who supports you?" and everything like that, you know. It was terrible. Especially around here everyone knows. A lot of people are on it. Everyone knows that you're on it and, I don't know, I can't stand it....I don't know, it's depressing and it's embarrassing. It's humiliating. But, at the same time, you're grateful 'cause you really need it, you know. I could be home with two kids driving my parents nuts. So in a way it's good, but I know I won't be on it the rest of my life. No way.

Shelley's contradictory feelings of shame, frustration, anger, guilt and gratitude are related to her recognition of how she is positioned within what Little (1994) calls "the hierarchy of worthiness" associated with Ontario's family benefits system. U.S. authors (for example, Fraser, 1990; Fraser & Gordon, 1994; Gordon, 1988; and Piven, 1990) write of a similar hierarchy of "dependency".

Women on assistance have to deal with everyday choices which are tightly constrained by the size of their assistance cheques, their fear that at any time their assistance may be cut, their sense of responsibility as caregivers and the frequent manifestations of the social stigma attached to receiving welfare which often contribute to their shame and self-blame. These factors are all weighed and measured in the variety of everyday decisions which women on assistance make such that their lives are controlled by the welfare system. These are the constraints on individual choice and change which the Transitions program was attempting to help women acknowledge and address at the time of my observations. A pedagogy which can support women in breaking through the oppression of the social assistance system as well as other oppressions operating in their lives is a powerful pedagogy.

As a result of these feelings of shame and self-blame, the women in the Transitions groups that I observed were often exceptionally quiet and visibly nervous during the first few sessions of the 14-session program. Their early responses were cautious. The Transitions group workers were conscious that this was a tense period for the women. Carefully, the workers explained the program outlining the focus of the various sessions. During the initial sessions in particular, the workers organized the women into small groups or pairs to introduce women to the larger group by degrees. Occasionally women worked independently. Whatever the dominant group format, discussion took place at some stage in each exercise. The group workers talked about the women directing parts of the program based on their interests in hearing from different guest speakers from other organizations within the community. Women were given the opportunity to establish group rules. In addition, by disclosing their own flaws and worries, the group workers attempted to diminish the power which they held by virtue of their position. And finally, some workers indicated that they incorporated anti-bias strategies in their practice by challenging racism, classism and other forms of oppression within the groups. Although actual challenges were few, the threat of challenging bias may have warned those prone to displaying their prejudices to keep these type of thoughts and feelings to themselves. At the same time, the promise of anti-bias strategies may have reduced others' sense of risk. Gradually, through an incremental process of listening and sharing experiences, women saw a pattern between their own lives and the lives of others. They became more comfortable until the group bonded as a whole. This emphasis on cooperation, on shared experience, and sharing of power clearly links practices at Transitions with Shrewsbury's (1993) definition of feminist pedagogy and her description of inclusive and nurturing feminist classroom practices. For the most part, the Transitions groups were inclusive and nurturing settings.

Bonding: A Focus on Similarity

What I have called "bonding" was characterized by group members relying less on the group worker and focusing more on group members. In other words, the group took charge of much of the process, still facilitated by the group worker. Bonding was further characterized by a high degree of verbal interaction. The more discussion, the more group members identified connections with other members. The more connections, the tighter the bonds. The diverse subject positions of the participants resulted in women making different connections within different groups, and bonding occurring at different points in the process within each of the groups. Many women connected to others based on age. Age affected the priorities in their lives, whether focusing on children and child care, preparing to return to school or work, or dealing with health issues. Others connected based on common experiences: experiences of race and culture, immigration, motherhood, and welfare. Affiliations often changed as the group progressed.

Bonding started, then, with an awareness of the things which members of the group shared. Differences were recognized, but underplayed. Bonding was fuelled by a growing trust among most women indicated by group members taking risks—for example, speaking out or even engaging in unfamiliar role-playing exercises. Deepening trust involved members sharing information which was highly personal and sometimes self-critical. In interviews and during the group sessions themselves, many of the women said that they had never told anyone some of the things which they mentioned in the group. Mutual support was a consistent feature of women's descriptions of the groups when I asked them, in interviews, to tell me how they would describe the Transitions program to friends.

Of course, some women left the groups which may have signaled some limitations to the bonding process and a process which effectively eliminated those who did not share group characteristics or group concerns. It was difficult to be sure of women's reasons for leaving beyond those that women reported to the group workers. In all, 23 of the 58 women I observed left the program. The group workers were unaware of the reasons for 7 of these women leaving. Of the remaining 16 who left, 6 reported leaving for physical or mental health reasons, including the health of their children; 5 left because they had gained acceptance to an education or training program; 2 left to look for work more immediately; 1 left because of conflict with her part-time job; and another 2, who joined a group late, decided to wait until the next group was formed.

Dealing with Difference and Power

> Ella [the group worker] says that she is going to call out some categories that apply to women...she would like us to stand if they apply to us. She asks those who remain seated to clap those who are standing. She says that those standing can look around at "their buddies" standing with them, and then sit down. She starts calling out the categories: mothers, women who like earrings, women who like dancing, women who do the cooking at home, women who do the laundry at home, women who live with partners, women who live with parents, women for whom English is a second language....Sometimes only one woman is standing; sometimes everyone gets up....The physical activity of standing and then sitting grows more intense. We finish the exercise with everyone laughing.

Difference was never completely absent from any discussion of similarities, which is evident from the exercise described above. While some women stood and looked at "their buddies", others remained seated and applauded those who were standing. Keeping difference in the background and making similarity something that was celebrated meant that difference was a threat: a source of power or a reason for excluding women from the warm feelings of mutuality. For example, age could be a source of power for some women, particularly when older women were articulate in communicating the broader range of experiences and insights that often accompanied greater age. Conversely, age could also be a reason for lack of confidence in groups where younger women with higher educations, higher energy and better health predominated.

Marjorie was older than most women in her group, but her group still included a number of women in their mid to late forties and early fifties. Marjorie was a grandmother. Born in the Maritimes, English was her first language. She had spent some time in prison and now she was working on her recovery from alcohol addiction. Respected by both the younger and older women, she frequently acted as an informal group leader. Like most of the women in her group, Marjorie had a low tolerance for people who were not fluent in English. In an interview, she commented:

> ....I'm not as stupid as I thought I was. You know, some of the statements that you hear in this room, they're quite jarring, and I find myself thinking, "Gee, I'm quite intelligent."

Perhaps because discussion was the way of doing business in the groups and because language use is commonly associated with intellect, women's ability to communicate was an obvious area for group members to target in evaluating their own abilities. This is the perception underlying Marjorie's comment.

Finding out that other people were having the same difficulties gave women a sense of equality, but perceiving that other women were worse off positioned some as superior, and, in the case of Marjorie's comments, other participants as stupid. Almost all of the women I interviewed, ranked themselves in some way in relation to other women in their groups. This type of comment often arose in response to the question of what they liked about the group and took a form similar to Marjorie's response above ("I'm not as stupid as I thought I was"). For example, Uma, who was married, told me how lucky she was compared to the single mothers in the group. She was sympathetic to their problems, but she also wanted to make it clear that "they can't just put their feet up and watch TV all day". Julie, also a married woman, said that she felt sorry for the single mothers in her group because they lived in "broken homes". Uma and Julie had no sense of how married women have been privileged by our patriarchal society, and Uma in particular had assimilated the popular image of "welfare mothers," although none of the women in her group fit this stereotype.

Within the groups themselves, I noticed raised eyebrows, smothered laughter and shaking heads when women for whom English was a second or third language struggled to make their meaning clear. I heard women use age to assert power over other women, prefacing or punctuating their assertions with metastatements about their longer lives and a greater range of experiences. I knew that some women remained silent for fear of risking too much even if other women revealed their deepest secrets. For example, in an interview, one woman told me that she was a lesbian, but that she would never speak about her sexuality in the group for fear of being "put down" by at least one other group member.

The nature of the hierarchy within the groups is something which deserves a more detailed examination than I can provide in this short paper. My point here is simply that a hierarchy of some form existed. While the differences among women were explored in an abstract way as the monoliths of race, class, ability, and so on, how the actual differences among women positioned some as privileged and kept others on the margins of the group remained largely unexamined within the groups themselves. Only when a woman breached the common group rule of mutual respect in a flagrant manner was the offending "ism" named and challenged by the group worker and sometimes group members.

Dealing with difference and multiple positions within women's stories can lead to personal and interpersonal conflict. A small sampling of the literature on group work (Butler & Wintram, 1991; Klein, 1972; Shulman, 1984) is unanimous in the view that conflict is inevitable, but I found very little open conflict in the Transitions groups. One worker, who had recent experience of a lengthier, more intensive program, told me that if the Transitions program had been longer, we would have seen much more conflict among group members. However, program length likely was not the only factor. Butler's and Wintram's experiences of conflict in groups is related directly to the depth of analysis of structural issues:

> Explicit recognition of structural issues is a necessary precondition for raising members' awareness of inequalities which may be operating within the group. This is particularly so when differences between women based on age, disability, sexuality, race and ethnicity are played out in the group. It has already been said ...that the diversity of membership in the rural group led to a rich tapestry of learning, as contradictions relating to oppression were explored. However, this process of discovery was marked with intense disturbance at times as conflict between women occurred. (Butler & Wintram, 1991, p. 76)

The type of analysis described by Butler and Wintram is different from the type of feminist pedagogy where sharing power and sharing experience are the hallmarks of feminist practice. This type of analysis moves beyond a focus on similarities and underneath the appearance of a democratic and nurturing environment to address the specific inequalities operating within a specific group. Conflict is a bi-product of this process.

Supporting Individual Change

In the section above, I asked whether little critical examination of the specific differences and inequalities affecting women's relationships in the groups which I observed limited the program's ability to help women develop an awareness of how they were positioned differently both socially and historically. In this section, I raise concerns that, without this type of analysis, individual change may be limited or short-lived.

To summarize immediate outcomes: I recorded some interest in change for 32 of the 35 women who remained in the program until its completion. Of this number, the vast majority (over 90 per cent) were working on entering further education or training, or getting a job. Perhaps more importantly, women identified affective changes, particularly greater confidence in themselves and strategies for supporting change, such as decision-making skills and being more assertive. In addition, by the time women left the Transitions program, they talked about no longer feeling as if they were "going crazy". They associated their positive feelings with a recognition of how other women were similarly positioned which came from analyzing their own lives and reflecting on the lives of relatives, friends and other women in the group. From these patterns, women developed a vague sense of how they were positioned by historical and societal structures and processes (even though these structures were not fully revealed). At least they knew that they were not to blame.

> **Georgia:** I think that the physical body [the group] there is encouraging, not to share our woes, and whatever, but to know that we're not crazy, and we are experiencing the same things, and we do have goals, and we want to get there, and these are the barriers that we're facing. So just the physical presence of people, and then what they have to say. You know, their experiences, however terrible they may be. I mean some of us have been there, some of us haven't yet, but it gives us food for thought and how would you handle it sort of thing.

In spite of these feelings of connectedness, I found when I interviewed women three months after the group had ended that few had maintained contact with other group members. Some had tried to keep in touch, but with the demands of the change process, whether going to school or taking a job, many had lost contact. Women talked about meeting each other on the street or in the local mall. They pieced together partial information about what had happened to various group members and they still had a sense of the group as a supportive network of people who were out there should they need them, but their sense of the group was beginning to erode.

A small number of women quickly disconnected from the group, perhaps deliberately, perhaps because of demands on their time. I found that my attempt at follow-up interviews with four women raised questions about whether the group experience was positive or even neutral for everyone. For example, when I finally managed to contact Judith, she told me that she did not want to submit to a second interview because she felt that she had failed. She had not been able to implement the plans which she had developed by the end of the group. I wondered about the women who did not actually refuse second interviews but whom I could not contact in spite of the messages I left on their answering machines. Did they also see themselves as failures?

Among the members of Loretta's group, no one knew what had happened to her—not even the group worker. Loretta had left the group with plans for retraining although her welfare worker had told her that she was too old for retraining to be worth it to the system and to Loretta herself. The group worker and the group as a whole had spent time attempting to counter this message. When I reached her by telephone three months after the group finished, Loretta did not want me to travel to meet her. It would not be worth it for me to interview her a second time, at least in Loretta's opinion. Things had not worked out for her either. When I told her that I would like to talk to her anyway, she agreed to a telephone interview. Loretta had been enrolled briefly in an upgrading program, but felt out of place because of her age and different life experiences. After one day in the upgrading program, she now agreed with her welfare worker that formal retraining was a waste of time. Loretta told me that the group was enjoyable but that it was not really helpful to her.

Similarly, Lena altered her plans after the group. In fact, her feelings about the group shifted significantly between the interview at the end of the program to the interview three months later. At the end of the program, she was positive about the group and optimistic about her future. Three months later, she told me how painful some of her experiences in the group had been, how she felt that some of the other women did not like her and how she wondered if the group worker thought that she was stupid.

Unlike Lena, Loretta and Judith, Manjit was still working with the same plan when I interviewed her three months after her group had finished. However, Manjit's confidence was beginning to weaken. She told me that she didn't really know anymore if she would "make it".

From these comments, I began to sense that some women did not have enough time to develop alternative discourses and realistic plans. After the program was over, without the immediate and ongoing support of the network of other women, some women were marginalized once again even if they had not appeared to be participating only on the margins in the group itself. I wondered if the numbers of women with feelings similar to Judith, Loretta, Lena and Manjit would increase over time. Without extended research, I can only continue to wonder. It seemed that the reasons why these women lacked confidence at the beginning of the group were still there and these reasons re-emerged in new ways from the background noise once their memories of the group faded.

In short, I came to see the Transitions groups as an interruption of the oppressions of women's everyday lives which gave some women the opportunity to mount campaigns for individual change. For others, this brief interruption likely was not sufficient. For still others, Transitions afforded no interruption at all because women were as marginalized in the groups as they were in society. Nevertheless, I am optimistic about Transition's potential to provide a base from which women can gain support to change their material realities. The group practices which are parallel to the classroom practices associated with feminist pedagogy are important elements in providing this support. In the Transitions groups, these practices helped to create a relatively democratic environment where women's experiences were validated and where women could learn from other women. However, the group workers and others in the organization need to consider how to address the program's limitations. A more critical analysis of difference and inequality is necessary to developing a deeper understanding of the structural issues which affect women's lives, and help women break through their feelings of unworthiness, shame and self-blame. Only by eliminating or at least minimizing their shame, can women reach a point where they have a sense of power and agency and even anger that can sustain them well beyond the end of the program.

By the same token, feminist classroom practices need to move beyond attempting to create the monolithic and all-inclusive "beloved society" identified with the early stages of feminism's second wave. It is fine to share power, but we need to recognize that not everyone starts from the same power base. We can make our classrooms and other settings more inclusive, but we cannot eradicate the operations of power or even mask it for long. We need to bring differences as well as similarities to the foreground, recognizing that any foregrounding of difference likely will result in conflict. Similarity is not the only reason we might stand together. The exercise described earlier in this paper needs some drastic redesign. Ellsworth's (1992) affinity groups might be one place to start. These groups could allow women of colour, for example, to state their perspectives and issues with a collective voice. As Ellsworth (1992, p. 109) explains:

> Once we acknowledge the existence, necessity, and value of these affinity groups, we begin to see our task not as one of building democratic dialogue between free and equal individuals, but of building a coalition among the multiple, shifting intersections, and sometimes contradictory groups carrying unequal weights of legitimacy within the culture and the classroom.

Retheorizing the collective is another place to start. The concept of coalition may be more relevant to today's society. It addresses what Acker (1994, p. 53) identifies as the feminist paradox of "universality and diversity". Coalitions can be temporary formations, negotiated into being to work toward some specific purpose. Once the purpose is achieved, they can be dissolved and new coalitions can emerge around a different purpose. Coalitions can work at both the classroom level and the socio-political level. Coalitions allow for connectedness among women without making everyone and everything the same, without making every aim a universal aim, and without linking group success or failure to the continued maintenance of connections among group members beyond their original purpose for getting together .

Conclusion

In this paper, I have linked the type of group work practiced in the Transitions groups which I observed between the fall of 1993 and the spring of 1994 with the classroom practices commonly associated with feminist pedagogy. These practices foreground similarities among women and include strategies to equalize power relations. However, the sharing of power in the Transitions groups was only apparent. The absence of a critical analysis of the true operations of power served to support hierarchies which continued to marginalize some women.

A more thorough analysis of difference has the potential to deepen women's understanding of the historical and structural influences at work in their lives, and to lessen their shame and self-blame. The cost of this analysis is increased conflict among women. However, without this analysis, the potential for women to maintain their new found confidence is in greater jeopardy from the oppressive structures which rule their day-to-day lives once they leave the groups.

Indeed, for some women, the feminist practices of the Transitions groups and similar settings which uncritically promote bonding between group members will support women in proceeding with or initiating individual change. For others, these practices are not sufficient to provide a springboard for change. They can mask the covert operations of power which can work to increase their feelings of shame and self-blame for those women who do not "succeed". Instead of seeing their race, their class, their age, their culture as subject positions which enhance or diminish their power within the group, within their communities and society as a whole, some women will see only the differences which separate them from other women and which mark them as "crazy" or as "weird" or as "failures".

Feminist groups and classrooms can no longer afford to emulate the all-inclusive "beloved society" of the late nineteen sixties. Feminist practitioners need to unmask how power can work beneath the surface. And feminist practitioners need to develop strategies which counter the continued oppression and marginalization of women even within apparently inclusive and nurturing settings.

References

Acker, S. (1994). *Gendered Education*. Toronto: OISE Press.

Bunch, C. & Pollack, S. (1983). Introduction. In C. Bunch & S. Pollack (Eds.), *Learning our way: Essays in feminist education* (pp. ix-xv). Trumansburg: The Crossing Press.

Butler, S. & Wintram, C. (1991). *Feminist groupwork*. London: Sage Publications.

Culley, M., Diamond, A., Edwards, L., Lennox, S. & Portuges, C. (1985). The politics of nurturance. In M. Culley & C. Portuges (Eds.), *Gendered subjects: The dynamics of feminist teaching* (pp. 11-20). Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Ellsworth, E. (1992). Why doesn't this feel empowering? Working through the repressive myths of critical pedagogy. In C. Luke & J. Gore, (Eds.), *Feminisms and critical pedagogy* (pp. 90-119). New York: Routledge.

Fraser, N. (1990). Struggle over needs: Outline of a socialist-feminist critical theory of late-capitalist political culture. In L. Gordon (Ed.), *Women, the state and welfare* (pp. 199-225). Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Fraser, N. & Gordon, L. (1994). A genealogy of dependency: Tracing a keyword of the U.S. welfare state. *Signs*, 19(2), 309-336.

Gordon, L. (1990). The new feminist scholarship on the welfare state. In L. Gordon (Ed.), *Women, the state and welfare* (pp. 9-35). Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Gore, J. (1992). What we can do for you! What can "we" do for "you"?: Struggling over empowerment in critical and feminist pedagogy. In C. Luke & J. Gore, (Eds.), *Feminisms and critical pedagogy* (pp. 54-73). New York: Routledge.

Kenway, J. & Modra, H. (1992). Feminist pedagogy and emancipatory possibilities. In C. Luke & J. Gore (Eds.), *Feminisms and critical pedagogy* (pp. 138-166). New York: Routledge.

Klein, A. F. (1972). *Effective groupwork: An introduction to principle and method*. New York: Association Press.

Little, M. H. (1994). "Manhunts and bingo blabs": The moral regulation of Ontario single mothers. *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 19(2), 233-247.

Piven, F. F. (1990). Ideology and the state: Women, power, and the welfare state. In L. Gordon (Ed.), *Women, the state and welfare* (pp. 250-264). Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Schniedewind, N. (1987). Feminist values: Guidelines for a teaching methodology in women's studies. In I. Shor (Ed.), *Freire for the classroom* (pp. 170-179). Portsmouth, NH: Boynton & Cook.

Schniedewind, N. (1993). Teaching feminist process in the 1990s. *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 21(3 & 4), 17-30.

Shrewsbury, C. M. (1987). What is feminist pedagogy? *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 15(3 &4), 6-14.

Shrewsbury, C. M. (1993). What is feminist pedagogy? *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 21(3 & 4), 8-16.

Shulman, L. (1984). *The skills of helping: Individuals and groups*. Second edition. Itasca, Ill.: F. E. Peacock Publishers, Inc.

Vicki Bales, Social Policy Consultant, 97 Golfview Avenue, Toronto, ON M4E 2K3 (416) 690-6597 (telephone), (416) 690-3087 (fax), vbales@oise.on.ca (e-mail)

Gender Subjectivity and Career Identity: The Construction/Deconstruction of Occupational Aspirations Among Female Undergraduates*

That women's enrolment as undergraduates and in professional programs like law, medicine, business administration, and the like has increased significantly over the last three decades is well known. Less well appreciated, however, is that their educational and career trajectories continue to be gendered in ways that sharply constrain their options and opportunities. Consider, for example, patterns of participation at the undergraduate level in Canadian universities. It is precisely those areas of female concentration--education (65%), fine arts (62%), social work (83%), and humanities (60%)--where employment is growing most slowly, and where lower status, lower paying, and less secure jobs prevail. Women may now represent the majority of all undergraduates (53%), but they still account for a much smaller percentage of students in economics (33%), mathematics and science (28%), and engineering (18%). They likewise earn less than 35% of all doctoral degrees. Even in the biological sciences, where women constitute almost 60% of undergraduate, they account for a mere 33% of doctoral candidates (Statistics Canada 1995).

Similar differences also show up in occupational outcomes. Women, for example, remain very much a minority in the natural sciences, engineering, and mathematics. Indeed, in 1994 they held only 19% of professional jobs in these fields, an increase of less than 5% from 1982. In light of the fact that the starting salaries of engineers are on average 40 per cent higher than the starting salaries of teachers (Jacobs 1995), the implications of women's marginality in these and related fields are especially significant. But, even in those professional and managerial occupations, where women's participation has shot up dramatically, female-to-male earning ratios remain low. Thus, in 1993, the salaries of female medical and health professionals were a mere 60% of their male counterparts and just 67% for managers/administrators (Statistics Canada 1995).

Such findings suggest a grim prognosis for gender equity. Indeed, the picture is especially discouraging when we consider that, despite rising enrollments in undergraduate science programs, significant numbers of even the most committed and well-prepared female students lower their educational and career aspirations over the course of their undergraduate education (Eccles 1994; Machung 1989; Astin and Snyder 1984; Holland and Eisenhart 1990). By the same token, even when they do obtain the requisite qualifications, many shy away from high-status careers. Do the gendered barriers that women encounter during their undergraduate years deter them from pursuing their career goals? Do their choices reflect a realistic assessment of their options based on their experiences and interpretations of the world as they know? Or, are they the result of a kind of false consciousness, that is, of popular discourses of femininity that obscure the high costs of women's occupational inferiority? If young university women profess themselves determined to "have it all," as evidence from a number of reports and studies suggest (cf. Erwin 1996; Machung 1989), then what such aspirations actually mean and how they accord with definitions of gender that are embedded in the practices of everyday life need to be closely examined.

---

*My thanks go to Lucy Luccisano, Paula Maurutto, Laury Moore, Shelagh Cavanaugh, Rachel Osborne, Heather Cadogan, and Ramona Morris who conducted many of the interviews that this paper is based on, and to the women who participated in the study. This research was made possible by an SSHRC grant for which I am most grateful.

Context

There is an impressive body of feminist research exploring the influence of cultural understandings and practices on the organization of gender identity and occupational aspirations among working class adolescent girls (cf. Gilbert and Taylor 1991; Walkerdine 1989; McRobbie 1978). Among the most striking findings of this literature is the centrality of femininity/romance discourses in the popular culture consumed by such girls. These discourses--which emphasize reliance on male support, advice, and financial backing; nurturance; sexual attractiveness and responsive sexuality; powerlessness; and the importance of intense and singular heterosexual attachments--discourage the pursuit of independent hobbies, sport, study, and career commitment (Davies 1989; Christian-Smith 1990; Gilbert and Taylor 1991; Walkerdine 1989). While these studies show that the relation of discourse to practice is not causal--indeed, girls/women take up multiple subject positions fashioned from contradictory discourses simultaneously--such constructions of feminine subjectivity "create an inescapable tension in girls pursuit of independence" (Gilbert and Taylor 1991: 92).

In recent surveys on adolescent girls in Canada and the United States, the influence of gendered understandings on the construction of female subjectivity and future aspirations is also evident. While education and career goals are rated as important, they are considered secondary to being attractive and establishing relationships. Likewise, being popular and well-liked is rated as more important than being perceived as competent and independent (Federation of Women Teachers' Associations 1987; The American Association of University Women 1991; Canadian Teachers' Federation 1990). Moreover, although these young women tend to graduate from high school with higher educational aspirations (and grades) than male students, they have significantly less confidence in their abilities. They tend to be uncertain about the likelihood of realizing their goals; and they also plan their futures with a great deal of tentativeness (Baker 1985).

At the university level the picture is much the same according to Dorothy Holland and Margaret Eisenhart (1990), who interviewed twenty-three women enrolled at two universities in the American South, one predominantly black and the other white. The majority of their sample, they report, had "intense involvements in heterosexual romantic relationships, marginalized career identities, and inferior preparation for their likely roles as future breadwinners" (1990: 3-4). By the time these women left university, less than one-third had met their own expectations for the future. Holland and Eisenhart argue that college culture is, for these young women, a culture of the peer group, a culture centred on dating activities and establishing heterosexual romantic relationships. Not surprisingly, both their status in the peer group and their sense of identity depends heavily on their attractiveness to men. Hence the preoccupation of such women with weight, clothes, and physical appearance. And, although they did not always conform to the norms and values imposed by romance ideologies, neither did they resist them. Instead they adopted a pragmatic approach, attempting to do the best that they could "within the perceived limits of their romantic relationships" (Holland and Eisenhart 1990: 57).

Rejecting ambitious educational and career commitments as one becomes caught up in a culture of romance adds up to a feminist nightmare. Is such victimization, and the false consciousness logical to it, really widespread on American campuses? Holland and Eisenhart's research is too narrowly based to draw any conclusions on this score. But elsewhere in the literature not the pathology but the rationality of circumscribed female aspirations has emerged as a major theme. Consider in this connection Jane Gaskell's study of 17- and 18-year-olds in their final year of high school in Vancouver (1992). For these young women, all of whom expected to get jobs and saw paid work as more interesting and valuable than domestic labour, it was domestic ideologies that shaped their social practices and ultimately narrowed their aspirations. Despite their commitment to work, for example, they also believed that their right to work outside the home needed to be justified in terms that clearly depicted such work as secondary to their family responsibilities. Such contradictions, Gaskell argues, arises from a number of key understandings about the men in their lives (fathers, uncles, boyfriends, etc.). Particularly notable, is the unwillingness of such men to share childcare and domestic labour. Gaskell's subjects also "understand" that, since they will almost certainly earn less than their future husbands, they are less deserving of leisure. And the lack of affordable childcare and their belief that children require a mother's full-time attention are also inhibiting. Hence, the realistic nature of these choices inasmuch as "they grow from their experience of the world, which they interpreted and understood from within their culture and ideology" (Gaskell 1992: 135).

While Gaskell's conclusions are based on a population of working class adolescents, parallel findings have emerged in studies of privileged women. Why do such women, despite so much surface encouragement, aspire so modestly? Why are they quicker to retreat from occupational commitments than men? (Almquist, Angrist, and Mickelsen 1980; Astin and Snyder 1984; Eccles 1994). Summarizing fifteen years of research on women's occupational choices, Jacquelynne S. Eccles (1994) concludes that such choices are linked to expectations for success and the subjective value that is attached to domestic and career responsibilities. Given the socialization history of most women, the integrated lives many of them want to lead, and their awareness of the discrimination and harassment still experienced by women in male-dominated occupations--given all this, it is both reasonable and predictable that they tend to enter female-dominated professions. It is important to recognize, Eccles stresses, that women's occupational choices are not made in isolation from other life choices like marriage, children, and the decision to balance jobs with other life roles (Eccles 1994).

In sum, while these studies approach the question of how young women construct their goals and aspirations differently, it is clear from their findings that neither gender role socialization or social structures simply shape gendered subjectivities. Rather feminine subjectivities are developed through participation in those available sets of social meanings and practices--discourses--which define what it means to be a woman and what a woman can do. That these discourses shift within various cultural contexts means that young women are "multiply located"; consequently, how they construct themselves and their options is complex and contradictory and the "choices" they make often reflect competing values and commitments (Jones 1993). The implication of these findings is that women's own understandings of their educational and career opportunities and the ways in which they take up or reject gendered subjectivities must be a central research object.

Methodology

This paper is based on an SSHRC-funded longitudinal study of students attending a large multi-racial and multi-cultural campus in Canada. Three semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with the same subjects at different stages of their undergraduate education, with the first phase of the study inaugurated in the fall of 1993 (the two subsequent interviews were conducted in their second [1994-95] and third years [1995-1996]). One hundred and eighty first-year female undergraduates (and 90 first-year males--data not reported on here) were divided equally between the Arts and the Science faculties, and were selected through a systematic random sample of entering first-year students. All of the participants had graduated from high school the preceding spring.

While the majority of the sample are white and middle-class, some 30% are from visible minority backgrounds, 40% are first-generation Canadians representing a variety of ethnic backgrounds, and a approximately one-third are working class--a distribution that closely resembles the student population from which it is drawn. While the sample is obviously not representative of all undergraduates in English-speaking Canada, it would seem to be representative of those attending non-elite commuter institutions in the larger urban centres. There are no Native-Canadians.

The interview format was loosely structured. In addition to a series of life-history questions, and a section on social and political attitudes (towards feminism, race relations, and gay and lesbian issues), participants were encouraged to discuss their educational, career, and family aspirations in the most comprehensive terms. It is the responses of the female students to the latter which are drawn on in this report. Given that we are in the process of completing the final interviews in what is a longitudinal study, the findings presented here are necessarily tentative. The point is to highlight some major themes and tendencies that have emerged out of the preliminary analysis of the first and second year interviews.

Educational and Career Aspirations of First Year Students

Overwhelming, the women in this study began university firm in the belief that they were embarking on the next logical step in their pursuit of a career. None of them felt like the working-class students surveyed by Gaskell (1992), that, as women, they had to justify their educational and occupational aspirations. And, less than 5% cited their class, race, or ethnicity as a potential barrier to the realization of their goals.

The majority were also confident in their ability to do well in their courses. While there was a general feeling that, compared with high school, more time would have to be spent studying, they believed that they would be able to handle the work load. Few suggested that their social lives or a relationship took priority over their studies. On average, Arts students devoted 10 hours a week in the evenings and on weekends to their studies, while those in Science devoted an impressive 18 hours a week. Between their courses and part-time jobs (not to mention family responsibilities), many said they had little time for socializing. What about establishing a romantic relationship in the near future? A majority professed themselves indifferent (they "didn't care") or simply not interested.

Despite such career commitments and ambitions, however, few of these women said that they had a career plan or thought of strategies which would facilitate the realization of their goals. Consequently, they had little information about professional programs and requirements, entertained narrow perceptions of career choices, and had given little thought to alternatives should their first choice elude them. For many their expectations of how long it would take to achieve their goals were also unrealistic. More than a third of the women who aspired to post-graduate studies, for example, had significantly underestimated the entrance requirements of the programs they were interested in and the number of years it would take to complete such programs (this was especially pronounced for those who wanted to pursue medicine and dentistry).

In terms of family aspirations, while 85% of the women felt that children as well as a career would be part of their future, the overwhelming majority also said that at this point in their lives their attention was focused on their education and careers. Only a minority of the participants said that they had given much thought to how they would balance career-family conflicts, although more than 50% anticipated difficulties in this area. Less than one third of the women said that they would put their partner's career before their own. And while the majority also felt that while child care and domestic responsibilities should be shared equally between parents, they generally assumed that this was unrealistic. (In light of what we heard from their male counterparts, this assumption is well founded.) Attitudes toward daycare were similar for the overwhelming majority of participants; typically, it was regarded as something that was "bad" for kids, although many of women conceded that it would be a necessity--at some point-- if they were going to pursue careers.

First Year Experiences, Achievement, and Aspirations

While they began university confident that they were at least "adequately prepared" and would be able to manage the work load, by second year the majority had encountered "problems." A smaller number, most of whom were science students, mentioned the sheer volume of academic work. But the most frequently cited difficulties were aspects of the organization and culture of the university that the women found difficult to cope with.

> The classes are too big; it is very hard to get to know other students. But I'm really trying this year to make friends and get into a study group. Last year I guess I was just so lost and confused, I kept to myself. But this year I've got to get plugged in so I won't want to be so lonely and confused. If I miss something, I want to be able to ask someone for help. It is just a matter of trying harder. (chemistry major)

One of the most arresting themes was the degree to which the women internalized such "difficulties" as personal failures, yet credited their achievements to "good luck." If they only "tried harder," "took better notes," "were more outgoing," they would be able to rise above their problems. In this connection, the tendency to self-blame and the questioning of ability that was evoked when these women evaluated their academic performance was particularly disturbing. Negative classroom experiences, a demanding part-time job, or family problems were discounted in these accounts; while their "lack of motivation" and "inability to cope with the work" were emphasized. Similarily, in response to questions about sexism in the university there the majority of women disavowed or downplayed its significance. Hence, despite many descriptions of sexism, few of the women conceptualized it as gender discrimination.

> I think that men and women are treated the same way

> in class. In my biology lab, I can see that there is an attraction between the TA and some of the guys, they've kind of bonded. They do get more attention, but I think is just because the TA is a guy, its just social. (biology major)

Such individualistic interpretations of the first yearexperience meant that few of the women knew strategies, other than ones involving denial or self-improvement, that would help them cope with the problems they were encountering. Hence, by second year many of the women (particularly those in science) whose grades had dropped had already resigned themselves to a "second tier" career because they "weren't smart enough" or lacked "motivation."

> In high school I was always at the top of the class; a real real whiz kid, but I wasn't prepared for the pace of work here, the competition, the huge classes. No matter how hard I tried I couldn't keep up. I'm disappointed in myself, I lost my scholarship and some of what I thought made me kind of special. I'm in education, so I guess I'll be science teacher. I figured that if I couldn't cope with first year, I'd never make to grad. school. (physics major who switched to education).

This absence of critical analysis or alternative explanations in the women's explanations of their achievement and experiences points to the limited range of interpretative discourses and ideologies available to these women. The first and second year interview data suggest they can be understood as positioning themselves in discourses of individualism, equal opportunity, and self-determination which construct successful women as those with the personal drive, ability, and resourcefulness to manage both successful careers and family responsibilities. In these discourses the self is valorized; through motivation, effort, and talent experiences are shaped and outcomes determined.

While such self-referential discourses embody liberal feminist notions of agency, equal opportunity, and the ability to choose, less than one-third of these women consider themselves to be feminists. Interestingly, as they understand feminism, particularly in terms of its emphasis on group rights and collective disadvantage, it conflicts with notions of individualism and meritocracy. Many of the women, for example, believed that feminism constructed women as passive victims who lacked the power to improve themselves or alter their circumstances. In contrast, they conceptualized women as enterprising, powerful, and self-determining. Likewise, they also saw feminist analyses of structural inequalities as outdated and as an affront to their sense of women's agency. To these women, for whom educational and occupational hierarchies are fundamentally meritocratic structures, feminism offers them little to identify with and calls into question their basic understandings of how the world works. Consequently, the majority see equity initiatives not only as unwarranted, but as reverse discrimination.

> Sex and race doesn't make a difference in how well you do in school, at a job, or in society. What matters is

> how hard you try, the amount of effort, and how much you want something. In the past being a woman or not being white made a difference. My grandfather couldn't belong to a club because hewas Jewish. Now it is against the law to refuse someone a job because they're Indian or a female or in a wheelchair--and I agree 100% with this. But to hire someone because they are Indian or female or in a wheelchair, that is just as wrong (sociology major)

Concluding Remarks

For these women, gender is not destiny. They believe that opportunities for individual success are as available to them as they are to their male counterparts. Likewise, family and career are not opposites, they represent two aspects of the good life, just as they do to men. None of the women consider their educational goals as secondary to dating and courtship interests. Quite the contrary, they see themselves as career-oriented and prepared to put social and romantic interests aside until they have completed their degrees.

Understood within the particular ensemble of social practices and ideologies that these young women are located in, the ways in which they constitute themselves and their possibilities for self-actualization is not surprising. Schooled in educational institutions where success and failure are seen as the products of personal motivation, talent, and effort and immersed in a culture where individual solutions are emphasized over collective ones, they are ill-prepared for the profoundly gendered nature of the occupational structures they hope to participate in. How they negotiate the contradictions and obstacles they confront will have a significant impact on their career identities and ability (and desire) to pursue their goals.

Preliminary as these data are, they suggest the need for increased attention to issues of gender equity in higher education, particularly as they relate to the construction of career aspirations and identity among young women. For the women in this study, at least at this stage in their lives, there appear to be few alternatives to the individualistic ethos that frame their attitudes and practices. Clearly, part of the project of making academic climates less chilly for women entails helping them transcend these notions of individual success--notions that presently have the effect of occluding much of their lives.

REFERENCES

Almquist, E.M., Almquist, S.S, and Mickelsen, R.(1980). Women's career aspirations and achievements: College and seven years after. *Sociology of Work & Occupations*, 7, 376-384.

American Association of University Women (1991). *How Schools Shortchange Girls: A Study of Major Findings on Girls and Education.* Washington, D.C.

Astin, H. S. and Snyder, M. B.(1984). Women's Education and Career Choice: Disparities Between Theory and Practice," in E. Fennema and M. J. Ayer (Eds.), *Women and Education: Equity or Equality?* Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation.

Baker, M. (1985). *We're Here, Listen to Us!: A Survey of Young Women in Canada.* Ottawa:

Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women.

Canadian Teachers' Federation (1990). *A Cappella, A Report on the Realities, Concerns, Expectations and Barriers of Adolescent Women in Canada*. Toronto.

Christian-Smith, L K. (1990). *Becoming a Woman Through Romance*. New York: Routledge.

Davies, B. (1989). The discursive production of male/female dualism in school settings. Oxford Review of Education, 15 (3), 229-41.

Eccles, J. S. (1994). "Understanding Women's Educational and Occupational Choices: Applying the Eccles et al. Model of Achievement-Related Choices." *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, (18), 585-609.

Erwin, L. (1996). 'Having It All' In the Nineties: The Work and Family Aspirations of Women Undergraduates. in B. Galaway and J. Hudson (Eds.), *Youth in Transition to Adulthood: Research and Policy Implications*, Ottawa: Thompson Press, 185-204.

Federation of Women Teachers' Associations (1987). *The More Things Change... .The More They Stay the Same*. Toronto.

Gaskell, J. (1992). *Gender Matters From School to Work*. Toronto: OISE Press.

Gilbert, P. and Taylor, S. (1991). *Fashioning the Feminine: Girls, Popular Culture and Schooling*. Sydney, Australia: Allen & Unwin.

Holland, D. and Eisenhart, M. (1990). *Educated in Romance: Women, Achievement, and College Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Jacobs, J. A. (1995). Gender & academic specialties: trends among recipients of college degrees in the 1980s, *Sociology of Education*, 68, pp. 81-98.

Jones, A. (1993). Becoming a 'girl': post-structuralist suggestions for educational research. Gender and Education, 5 (2), 157-166.

McRobbie, A. (1978). "Working Class Girls and the Culture of Femininity." in *Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies Working Papers in Culture Studies* (Ed.), *Women Take Issue: Aspects of Women's Subordination.* London: Hutchinson, 96-108.

Statistics Canada (1995). *Women in Canada: A Statistical Report*. Ottawa.

Walkerdine, V. (1989). Femininity as performance. *Oxford Review of Education*, 15, 267-79.

Lorna Erwin, Dept. of Sociology, 2060 Vari Hall, York University, 4700 Keele Street, North York, ON M3J 1P3 Phone: 416-736-5014 FAX: 416-534-8686 e-mail lerwin@yorku.ca

Boys and Girls Together: Student to Student Sexual Harassment in Secondary Schools

> "I was standing to answer a question when the guy behind me put his hand on my leg and started to move it up under my skirt. I turned and swore at him. I got suspended and he got a talking to." - Natalie

> "If I put up my hand, will the guy behind me make comments? Harassment cuts down your self-esteem and that shows in your marks, in everything you do." - Chandra

> "Teachers are there...they are people you can trust. If a teacher didn't interrupt sexual harassment, I don't think I could learn from that person anymore." - Jeannette

This paper is a brief overview of the primary law making sexual harassment illegal in Ontario - the Ontario Human Rights Code -, the Code's application to peer sexual harassment in secondary schools, and some information on an important new tool for people in secondary schools to use to reduce and respond to illegal sexual harassment.

The Problem

A 1994 survey sponsored by the Ontario Secondary School Teachers Federation, the Ontario Women's Directorate, and the Ontario Ministry of Education and Training's Violence Prevention Secretariat found that over 80% of female secondary school students responding had experienced sexual harassment in a school setting. Female students reported experiencing fear, loss of self-esteem, concern for their personal safety, anger, isolation, and mistrust of male students.[1] Students considered sexual harassment an escalating problem and spoke with urgency of the need for the problem even to be acknowledged. While some boards and schools are beginning to address the issue with clear policies and procedures, many are not responding adequately to the prevalence and seriousness of sexual harassment against their students by other students.

The Law

The Ontario Human Rights Code states that "every person has a right to equal treatment with respect to services, goods, and facilities without discrimination"[2] because of a number of grounds, including sex and sexual orientation. In its policy statement on sexual harassment, the Ontario Human Rights Commission explains that "discrimination based on sex includes what is commonly referred to as sexual harassment or inappropriate comments and actions of a sexual nature."[3] The Code defines harassment as "engaging in a course of vexatious comment or conduct that is known or ought reasonably to be known to be unwelcome."[4]

The provision of education is a service and schools are facilities under the Code. Service providers - for example, school boards and those in positions of authority in the school system - have a positive obligation to maintain environments free of illegal harassment. They could be found liable under the Code if they do not take reasonable steps to address sexual harassment, including prevention, education, and adopting appropriate policies and procedures.

The Commission, in its policy statement, "encourages...organizations to take responsibility for preventing and remedying sexual harassment and inappropriate gender-related dcomments and conduct. The onus is on them (the organization) to adopt in-house policies...".

The Project

Following the survey, and after an analysis of the results, the three project partners instituted phase II of the project, under the Change Agent program of the Ontario Women's Directorate. The focus was to develop prevention/education materials for students, teachers, administrators, and parent/community groups on the issue.

The materials were developed in English and French through a consultative process involving students, teachers, and administrators at public secondary schools around the province. As well, a number of education organizations and student groups were represented on an Advisory Committee that is providing advice on the materials.

The materials were developed with the help of a number of student, teacher, and administrator focus groups in the province. The consultant found that existing educational materials on student sexual harassment were documents written for educators by educators and, in that smooth prose, the cumulative effects of intimidation and violence were lost. Student and teacher voices needed to be heard.

Trained peer facilitators, who represented the diversity of Ontario's population, worked with the groups to identify the important messages, formats, and information needed, as well as to discuss experiences of sexual harassment. (The quotes at the beginning of the article were from workshop participants.) Workshops were held at the Waterloo Board's Equity Issues Camp and twelve other schools in various parts of the province. During this process, the OSSTF Status of Women network was instrumental in helping the project gain access to the schools and their students and teachers. Over 400 students were heard from.

The Workshop Model

The project consultant or peer facilitators divided students into gender-specific groups and asked each group to work through a list of behaviours to select those that were harassing, those that were not, and those that might be depending on context. This exercise helped define what sexual harassment was and helped group members link their own actions or experiences with illegal sexual harassment.

Students in schools where anti-racist strategies were in place were much clearer about what harassment was. They immediately saw parallels: if the excuse "it's only a joke" is not acceptable for racist comments, it was not acceptable for gender-based harassment or homophobic remarks.

The facilitator for the male student groups, Kevin MacKenzie, consistently reported that:

"most of the male students do not mean harm. They just have no way of understanding the threat they pose. And they have had no opportunities to learn or understand. The awareness level is dangerously low. Many well meaning male students and male staff continue to engage in harassing behaviour because they don't know it is harassing."

Not all sessions went smoothly; there were.a number of angry scenes were male students could not listen and when female students insisted on excusing them. Disclosures were horrifying: incidents of stalking, of female students walking a daily gauntlet of boys who commented on their sexuality and sexual activities, of harassment leading to physical assault. A Grade 12 female student spoke of an ex-boyfriend who stalked her at school for weeks, finally chasing her through the school for an hour, catching her, and banging her head against a locker. "Nobody came for me...for an hour. And finally one teacher came for me. I'd like to know where they all were."

The groups identified that certain things were always sexual harassment: stalking, harassing phone calls, rating, spreading sexual rumour, writing/drawing on desks and in washrooms. All groups were aware that homophobia was a volatile issue and that lesbian and gay students and teachers were especially at risk. "Faggot" is the reflex insult of the hallway and schoolyard; the phrase "you les" is heard everywhere.

Teachers responses ranged from inability to cite a single incidence of sexual harassment in their entire career to requests for clear policies and procedures that everyone must follow. The project heard from women teachers repeatedly that they did not feel safe to present workshops on sexual harassment in their schools. They asked for outside help, for reinforcement and validation. They underlined that it is impossible for students to realize harassment is not a joke when their role models in the schools ignore, dismiss, or trivialize it.

Needs Assessment

Using the data from the groups, Edit Farkas, a George Brown College placement student assigned to the project, developed needs assessments for students and teachers.

Teachers wanted:
- a clear, consistent policy with a clear definition of sexual harassment and an expectation that intervention/action is required
- a consistent response, including consequences for the harasser, to harassment that all teachers know and use
- workshops with roleplays to help them respond to harassment
- workshops given by external facilitators who bring experience and credibility .

Students wanted:
- policies and procedures that were user friendly for them and clearly accessible
- outlines of procedures for students to use
- guidelines for helping a friend
- serious consequences that are known, used, and enforced
- the right to be taken seriously, no matter how "minor" the incident
- confidentiality
- up-to-date information on agencies and helplines
- supportive staff and administrators who are non-judgmental
- teachers who know about sexual harassment and take it seriously, who do not ignore or downplay sexual harassment.

Next Steps

The package of print materials titled "The Joke's Over/On a fini de rire" was distributed to every secondary school in Ontario in the Fall, 1995. It was also sent to a number of key contacts in boards and secondary schools. Administrators and boards are being encouraged to emphasize sexual harassment prevention as they develop violence-free schools policies, mandated by the ministry. Postsecondary institutions and organizations have developed many effective approaches to policy and procedure in this area which boards are examining.

Clearly in-service training by people knowledgable in the area will be useful. Administrators, especially, are concerned about conducting fair and impartial investigations, methods of intervention, complaint resolution, and the pressures that some approaches put on the person who may have already been harassed. Up to fifty Ministry funded workshops will be offered to board and school personnel throughout the province, starting in the Fall, 1996.

In addition, in co-operation with the Huron County Board of Education and Central Huron Secondary School, an interactive CD-ROM based training tool is being developed to supplement the print materials.

For more information on all phases of the project, contact Karen Wheeler. For information on the materials development process, focus groups, and training workshops, contact Sandie Barnard.

Karen Wheeler, Senior Policy Advisor, Violence Prevention Secretariat, Ministry of Education and Training, 13th Floor, Mowat Block, 900 Bay Street, Toronto, ON M7A 1L2 416-325-2578/FAX 325-2177/karen.wheeler@edu.gov.on.ca.

Sandie Barnard, Project Consultant and author,
905-640-0655/FAX905-640-9046

ENDNOTES

1. The survey on student to student sexual harassment in secondary schools is available from OSSTF, 60 Mobile Dr., Toronto, Ontario M4A 2P3.

2. *Ontario Human Rights Code*, s. 1.

3. Ontario Human Rights Commission, *Policy Statement on Sexual Harassment and Inappropriate Gender Related Comment and Conduct*, October, 1993.

4. *Ontario Human Rights Code*, s.10(1)(f). Note that although the definition calls for a course of comment or conduct (i.e. more than one incident), if a single incident is sufficiently serious or severe, it may be a breach of the Code under its "poisoned environment" provision. Also note that the Commission's policy document defines "vexatious" as referring to provoking, irritating, threatening, annoying, insulting, demeaning, or discomforting - covering a broad range of potential impacts.

BC Universities, Models for Society? Or Rhetoric? The Implementation of Harassment and Equity Policies.

In accordance with federal and provincial legislation, public institutions, crown corporations and private industry have developed and written policies concerning harassment and equity in the workplace. It is well documented, however, that these policies are often thwarted or circumvented by those in power (Spender, 1983; Faludi, 1991; Caplan, 1994). Those who have suffered harassment or inequities and attempt to take action under the protection of the policies are often labeled as *'troublemakers'* and may suffer personal and professional repercussions (Caplan, 1994). When the issues are brought to public attention the gatekeepers immediately cast aspersions on the victims (Spender, 1983; Caplan, 1994). The prevalent attitudes towards the victims appear to be similar to the attitudes towards rape victims - *'you asked for it', 'it's your own fault'*, etc. (Bart & O'Brien, 1985). It appears that implementation of the policies and the law is inadequate and often ineffectual. Attitudinal change, not simply political verbiage, is the challenge women, minorities and the disabled face in today's society.

In keeping with the theme of this symposium this *'mini-drama'* illustrates the ineffectual implementation of the harassment and equity policy issues affecting the employment and education of women at Universities. These fictionalized scenes may be transferred, or generalized, to viewers and readers as they see parallels with their own experience.

IT REALLY WAS HER OWN FAULT

Voice 1 - It really was her own fault. (pause) She should have known better. After all, she's been working for a long time. His behaviour last May and June when she started that job should have given her clues as to what he's like. And he's always telling those tasteless, sexist jokes.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Voice 2 - I heard he had asked her to take some money from a government grant and put it in an account he was managing.

Voice 1 - It wasn't that much money. Only about $2500. And it's not as if she would have gone to jail or anything like that. I mean, even if the Ministry found out, which in itself is unlikely, they only would have given her a bad time. *(pause*) What a hassle.

Voice 2 - Yeah, but you know Simpson. He would have blamed it completely on her. He would have said, it was her budgets she could have said no.

(*Gabrielle* - what could I do? If I gave Tom the money from a Ministry grant, I could have been in big trouble. He was asking me to do something illegal.)

Voice 2 - And then to accuse him of harassment. What did she think they would do? I can't believe she actually thought her Dean would help her. Talk about stupid. What I can't believe is that she would go so far with it. Didn't she know she didn't have a snowball's change in hell? Did she really think going to a tribunal would help? (*Pause*) The 'old boys club' is alive and well at MUBC.

Voice 1 - That's true, Peter Pinkton, the academic VP, was in the thick of it. He was one of the plotters. I know Gabrielle had written him a number of times asking to meet with him. He never, ever, responded to her.

(*Gabrielle* - Tom Simpson did harass me. He verbally beat on me for a good 30 minutes. I told him I couldn't do something I felt was illegal. He used his power in an attempt at coercion and wrote me a memo threatening to have me fired. I couldn't believe it. I had gone to Moe last June and told him I would quit unless Tom's behaviour changed. Moe talked to him and things were fine for the next 7 months.)

Voice 1 - I heard that when they locked her out of her office they got together to decide how to get rid of her. At least that's what one of the clerical's told me.

Voice 2 - The whole thing was planned. Planned from beginning to end, anyone can see that. God, it's so obvious.

(*Gabrielle* - It was planned. Only I didn't know that at the beginning. Moe Jordan held my hand and walked me down the garden path. I can't believe how gullible I was.)

Voice 1 - Obvious to everyone except the tribunal. She presented the evidence to the tribunal to prove there was collusion, but they absolutely chose to ignore it. I was there for most of the hearing, I heard the evidence.

Voice 3 - Hi. You two look so serious. What are you talking about?

Voice 1- Hi, (***pause, pat the sit***) sit down. Do you want a coffee? (***Pause***) (*Voice 3* - sure) We were talking about Gabrielle's case. The tribunal found in favour of Jordon and Simpson. She lost, (***pause, take a sip of coffee***) we all lost.

Voice 3 - I don't know the details of what happened. All I know is that she got dismissed, but I don't know why. I know she was in a hearing for months and months. When did the decision come down?

Voice 2 - She got it on April 2nd and the letter from the president came the same day. Courier and all.

Voice 3 - Tell me what happened.

Voice 1- Tom Simpson asked her to take $2500 out of a TriUniversities grant from the Ministry of Education to pay for a course he had the faculty develop.

Voice 3 - What's the TriUniversities?

Voice 2 - It's GVU, PU and MUBC. It was a shared grant to deliver the new Career and Personal Planning program. Profs of the three universities, as a group, would develop the course and all would give it and students could register through their own university for credit. So if a GVU student spent the summer in Nova, they could take the course at MUBC and get credit at GVU.

Voice 1 - Gabrielle told him that the course had to be developed by all three universities and that she had to account for the money. She also told him there were no funds in the grant for course development. The Ministry expects the profs from the three universities to participate as part of their regular responsibilities.

Voice 2 - When Gabrielle refused Simpson went into a snit and really hassled her, then he wrote her a memo that more or less implied that he would have her fired if she didn't comply.

Voice 3 - You're kidding. Really! Gabrielle must have had a fit. What did she do?

(*Gabrielle* - I couldn't believe Tom's behaviour. It was unreal. He didn't seem to understand what I was talking about. I couldn't use the course our faculty had developed. PU and GVU's faculty wouldn't have agreed. They all wanted a part in the development of the course. Plus the Ministry paid only travel expenses and meals for course development. They expect the profs to develop the courses without paying them.)

Voice 1 - Well it turns out there were two very different job descriptions for her position and they were quite different. She fumed all weekend and then resigned on Monday.

(*Gabrielle* - What a joke. At the hearing Moe Jordan, the Dean of Continuing studies and Ernest Climber, my cluster manager both said the position description Moe had given me was the correct one. Meanwhile, Leslie Lockney, the dean of Education and Tom Simpson, my director, both claimed that the contract between the Faculty of Education and the Department of Continuing Studies was the contract in effect. Simpson claims he never saw my position description. He was at the interviews and he's the Director of the department and he never saw my position description. Right!)

Voice 2 - Except Jordon didn't accept her resignation. He suspended her instead. She went to see June Summers and Oprah Minifield and neither of them told her what Jordon had done was illegal.

(*Gabrielle* - When I finally read the University Act and found out that the president was the only person who could suspend someone and then there had to be an immediate hearing by the board of governors, I felt so deceived by June and Oprah.)

Voice 1 - It's hard to believe that the harassment officer and the equity officer didn't know the University Act.

Voice 2 - Well it's possible, but doubtful. After all June is a lawyer.

Voice 3 - What! Do you mean to say that the equity officer and the harassment officer didn't help her.

Voice 1 and 2 - Right.

Voice 2 - Not really. While she was locked out of her office Simpson had the locks changed on the doors. And Jordon phoned her and starts telling her that the staff don't like her and that there are real problems. Of course Gabrielle tells him why should they like her. She was following his orders and downsizing the staff. He was the one who insisted she downsize the office and they were extremely uptight about the whole thing.

Voice 3 - Didn't all of this come out at the tribunal?

Voice 1 - Sure it did, but the tribunal ignored most of what happened. (*pause*) She was set up. From beginning to end. I couldn't believed what happened.

Voice 2 - What made things even worst was when she went to the VP and had her accounts audited. She found all that money that Simpson's secretary was hiding from her. Imagine, not revealing to her those accounts that were under her signature.

Voice 1 - and the tribunal said, and I quote 'Ms White learned that there were many more accounts assigned to her responsibility than she knew about. Mrs. Tilley received the accounting reports for the office and had not shown Ms White all the records for all the accounts under Ms White's responsibility. There were 11 accounts with a total of over $60,000 under her signature of which she was not aware. . . the audit and the change in the accounting operations had a devastating effect on Mrs. Tilley who had had prime responsibility for the 68 CSIE accounts for years. Until the audit established that there had been no criminal wrong doing Mrs. Tilley was under terrible stress.' Just what do you have to do for wrongdoing to be found? We're talking ten months later. For ten months those accounts were hidden from Gabrielle, in all likelihood they would still be hidden if she hadn't had the audit done. The whole thing smells.

Voice 2 - What do you expect? Mavis Tilley's husband is on the Board of Governors. They're going to protect her. Had it been someone else who had kept the accounts hidden from the accounts holder she would have been fired. But, no, Mavis Tilley was protected. It's outrageous.

Voice 1 - Things will never change. The power holders will die before they give up their power. You were there. You heard them lying through their teeth. Some of it was so extraordinary you had to laugh.

Voice 2 - I love it, don't you? This guy demands money from her, then writes her a memo intimating that he will have her fired if she doesn't comply to his demands. There are two different contracts - one they gave to her and one that is hidden. Gabrielle raises hell, her Dean suspends her, than gets together with the others, sets it up so he can legitimately get rid of her. And the '*piece de resistance*', the tribunal finds the whole thing legitimate.

Voice 1 - I'm telling you, she should have known better. The university pitted her against a lawyer whose firm is charging $400 a hour for his services. That in itself should have been fair warning that she wouldn't win. He dragged the hearing out to twenty days, bringing in nothing but irrelevant horse manure. This belief in justice is an idealism we can't hold on to.

Voice 3 - But what do we do?

Voice 2 - There is nothing we can do. Don't you see that? I would have thought this fiasco would clearly illustrate this to anyone on campus, those in power can do what they want - right or wrong - and that the "status quo's" are going to protect the Moe Jordan's and Tom Simpson's of this world. The university doesn't care, they only are interested in protecting themselves.

Voice 1 - You're right. (***Pause***) You're right. Everyone is too afraid to do anything. No one wants to make waves, they could lose funding, put their department in jeopardy, who knows what. But, no one has stood up and said a thing. They just shake their heads and tsk, tsk. (***Pause***) Well it's taught us all one thing, if you're harassed by your boss, just bite your tongue and carry on. Anything else can lead to real trouble.

Voice 3 - It's so sad. We have all these policies and people filling the positions, but it seems like it's nothing but a sham. It sure appears that way. (***Pause***) It's so sad.

(*Gabrielle* - Unfortunately, I am not the only loser here. All of us lose. Every person on this campus loses. (***Pause***) It is very sad.)

The use of fictional mini-dramas serves to remind us of what has or could occur in any school, university, crown corporation or workplace. Just change the names to see the event as it was played out in your institution.

Carel Montana Wilkin, Ph.D. candidate, Faculty of Education,
University of Victoria, Victoria, BC, V8W 3N4.
cwilkin@islandnet.com (email) 1-604-384-3559 (home phone)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Readings:

Bart P.B., O'Brien, P.H. (1985). ***Stopping Rape***. New York: Pergamon Press.

Bartky Sandra L., ***Femininity and Domination***. (New York: Routledge, 1990).

Berger P.L., Luckmann T. (1967). ***The Social Construction of Reality***. New York: Doubleday.

Caplan Paula J. (1994). ***Lifting a Ton of Feathers***. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Faludi Susan (1991). ***Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women***. New York: Doubleday.

Fekete J. (1995). ***Moral Panic: Biopolitics Rising***. Montreal, Toronto: Robert Davies Publishing.

Gall Gerald L. (1990) ***The Canadian Legal System***. Toronto, Calgary, Vancouver: Carswell.

Harassment and Equity Policies. A variety of Canadian universities.

Human Rights Act. (1995) Victoria: Queen's Printer for British Columbia.

Sexual Harassment: A Costly Proposition. (1992) Conference Proceedings, November 11-14, 1992. Victoria: Aurora Consultants Ltd.

Shakeshaft C. (1989). ***Women in Educational Administration***. Newbury Park, California: Corwin Press, Inc.

Spender Lynne (1983) ***Intruders on the Rights of Men: Women's Unpublished Heritage***. London: Pandora Press, 1-14.

The Canadian Constitution Act, 1982. (1992) Amended by Constitution Amendment Proclamation, 1983. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services.

Gender Equity in Education
the Change Agent partnership between Ontario Women's Directorate (OWD) and the Ontario Association of Deans of Education (OADE)

Educational inequities often translate into employment and economic inequities. Although the conditions and opportunities of Ontario women have improved, they still experience social, legal and economic disadvantage. Women are over-represented in low-paid and low-status occupations and earn approximately two-thirds of the earnings of men. Our schools both reflect contemporary society and have an impact upon it. Their leadership is the key to ensuring the right to equity and dignity in the school experiences of young women and girls. Ministry of Education and Training guidelines on gender equity and individual school board policies set out requirements for change in order to prepare young women for new opportunities and roles.

A substantial body of research tells us that schools are shortchanging girls and young women and that change is needed in order to achieve gender equity in schools. While recognizing that our system of education is gendered, it is important not to stereotype further in addressing these issues by treating all female and all male students according to the profiles established by research findings. Rather, the research points the way to greater recognition of the diversity of student needs (in gender, race, class, ethno-cultural group, disability), and suggests a variety of approaches which will benefit a broader range of students. In an environment of increasing pressure and decreasing resources for teachers it is important to find simple, workable, reasonable and effective teaching techniques and strategies to assist them. Pre-service teachers, female and male, need an opportunity to explore gender relations within the teaching profession; to identify and be sensitized to their own practices and actions, as well as those of their peers and their students; and to be aware how these may affect classroom interaction and impact differentially on female and male students.

In order to assist the Ontario government in its goal of achieving equal opportunity for all its citizens, the development and delivery of education which fosters a learning environment in which female students can make informed decisions about schooling and future work life, and develop positive self-esteem and excellence is critical. The preparation of teachers is a key element in the achievement of full opportunities for females in education. In 1994, representatives from the Council of Ontario Universities; the Ontario Confederation of University Faculty Associations; the Ontario Teachers' Federation; the OADE; the Teacher Education and French Language Education, Policy and Program Branches of the Ministry of Education and Training and the OWD held several meetings to discuss how to ensure the infusion of gender equity into the experiences of students at faculties of education. In January 1995, the report of the Royal Commission on Learning gave further support to the need for this work.

The OADE was identified as a group of key influencers in the process of change and was approached to discuss a partnership to help the government meet its commitment to opportunity and excellence—to allow female and male students to develop their talents free from gender bias. The focus of this partnership is gender equity issues in education at the elementary and secondary level. Constituted under the OWD's Change Agent Program, the goal is to ensure that faculties of education in Ontario provide pre-service students with information, opportunities for analysis and resources related to gender equity issues.

Projects in three faculties of education will develop ways to ensure that new teachers entering Ontario classrooms are prepared to effect positive change. The work of the projects will be made available through the OADE and the members of the Faculty Network (FACNET)[1] in order to support the integration of these issues into the educational experience of candidates in pre-service training and their eventual students in elementary and secondary school. The objectives for these professional development projects include ensuring that students in Faculties of Education are aware of the rationale for and remediating strategies to improve the educational experience of females in elementary and secondary school; providing pre-service students with information and resources related to gender equity issues which they could use in their practice teaching sessions; and ensuring that the faculty members in Education are aware of the rationale for and remediating strategies to improve the educational experience of females both in pre-service training and their eventual students in elementary and secondary school.

The OADE has entered into this partnership with OWD because they believe it is important that all students in Faculties of Education, Ontario's future teachers, understand the issues and develop teaching strategies to advance gender equity in the schools. By playing a coordinating role OADE will ensure that all its member faculties will have the opportunity to discuss and benefit from the three projects. The dean of each Faculty of Education in Ontario designated a representative to the partnership. The objectives, along with details of the process and timelines, were refined and negotiated with input from these representatives. A Request for Proposal(RFP)[2] was sent to OADE, and publicized within the faculties of education. Eight proposals were received in response to the RFP. A team of twenty-four evaluators including the deans representatives and others from the broader education community were involved in the review process. Each evaluator received a selection of proposals.

The following projects, each with a different focus of activity, were recommended for funding: *Gender Equity in Pre-service Teacher Education: Educating the Educators*, University of Western Ontario; *Words Can Change the World/Les Mots Peuvent Changer Le Monde*, University of Ottawa; and *Acquisition de compétences d'enseignement en matière d'équité entre les sexes*, Université Laurentienne. The Change Agent partnership will be managed by a Steering Committee with representation from the partners, the Ministry of Education and Training and the Ontario Teachers' Federation. An Advisory Committee composed of representatives from the faculties of education and the broader education community will be consulted throughout the partnership. Detailed information about each project constitutes the rest of this paper.

Opportunities for professional and academic dialogue on the plans for each project are critical to their success. These will involve presentations from each project, followed by possible project adjustment based on dialogue. Final reports on the implementation and other materials as developed are expected from each project in July, 1997. The documentation of the three projects and the materials they produce will form the basis of a publication designed to animate their utilization in education faculties throughout Ontario. The publication will also be shared with the Federal, Provincial and Territorial Ministers Responsible for Women's Issues and other groups in order to publicize the work across the country. The launch of this publication and other materials related to the three projects is expected in the fall of 1997.

Gender Equity in Pre-service Teacher Education: Educating the Educators

The University of Western Ontario

The failure of pre-service teacher education programs to provide their graduates with an appropriate and thorough grounding in and understanding of equity has been recognized for some time. Julien (1987) noted that faculties of education did little to encourage student teachers to consider the gender dimensions of teaching and learning. Pearson and Rooke (1993) and Coulter (forthcoming) observe that gender studies in Canadian universities have not significantly influenced programs in faculties of education. In making the case for the mainstreaming of gender studies in teacher education, Pearson and Rooke (1993) note that since the practicum is where the knowledge and skills learned elsewhere in the program are put to use, it follows that gender studies must be integrated in the practicum as well as in the other components of pre-service education.

Young (1995) argues that while students usually view the practicum as the most useful part of their teacher preparation program, placements are driven by the willingness of schools to accept students and not by the quality of the school experience or the existence of well-developed equity programs and practices on-site. He correctly suggests that this may lead to inappropriate socializing experiences during the practicum, and argues that all the partners in teacher education need to establish a new working relationship that would enable them to take responsibility for ensuring that student teachers are provided with a clear understanding that "issues of race, class and gender are major concerns of all school experiences" (Young, 1995, p. 55).

The need for improved pre-service programs with regard to gender equity issues has been clearly identified in the context of Ontario education (Stevenson, 1992; OTF/OWD, 1994). The Ontario Teachers' Federation, in late 1993, urgently requested the Ministry of Education and Training "to require faculties of education to offer programs in anti-bias education which address sexism, racism, ableism, homophobia and ageism" (Motion 9394/E/106).

Despite the generally pessimistic view that teacher preparation programs fail to take account of equity, the Faculty of Education at The University of Western Ontario has taken some initial steps to rectify the situation and now includes gender equity as part of the in-Faculty component of the pre-service program. Similarly, local boards of education have been active in providing in-service experiences for their teachers and have worked closely with local branches of teacher federations in doing this. Equity implementation workshops for administrators and teachers and the production of the Gender Equity Resource Document (London Board of Education, 1995) are but two examples.

What all this demonstrates is that both the Faculty of Education and teachers in this area of the province are working on understanding gender equity and on developing strategies for implementation. However, with respect to teacher education and professional development, one piece is markedly missing. A partnership between the field and the faculty is needed in order to strengthen the content and quality of the practicum component of pre-service education as it relates to equity. That is, a concerted effort needs to be made to bring associate teachers and education professors together both to educate themselves about gender and power in the teaching/learning process and to consider how best to make equity a central consideration during the practicum in order to strengthen the pre-service program overall. This dialogue is made more urgent as we move beyond understanding sexism and gender inequity as simply sex role stereotyping and low self-esteem to a position that recognizes inequality as structured into our pedagogical practices, curriculum, institutional organization and social relations.

The project at Western is designed to develop materials in both print and non-print media to be used to educate teacher educators (both faculty and associate teachers in schools) and student teachers about issues of gender equity. The specific areas addressed are:

1) Power Relations:

The emphasis on power relations between student and teacher and student teacher and teacher educator in this project stems from current research that suggests that power and authority relationships are highly problematic areas in the practicum experience (Goodman, 1988; McNay & Badali, 1994). As noted by McNay and Badali, "student teachers are acutely aware of power as a determining factor in their relationships with cooperating teachers, while cooperating [associate] teachers seem unaware of this dimension to the relationship" (p.83). Clearly there is a need to address the issue of power and authority. Furthermore as critical and feminist scholarship has long demonstrated, gender along with race, class, ethnicity and sexual orientation are factored into relations of power. Understanding how gender may operate as a power relation in the context of practicum experience will serve to improve pre-service teacher education as well as increase sensitivity to issues of symbolic violence, sexual, racial and other forms of harassment and assault.

Our specific objective is to develop print and video materials that focus on gendered relations of power and authority between teacher and student and between student-teacher and teacher educator (associate teacher and faculty). This material will be used with all the targeted constituencies: male and female pre-service students, education professors and associate teachers.

2) Gender Bias:

The ability of teachers and teacher educators to analyze curricular materials and pedagogical practices and structures for explicit and implicit sexism, racism, homophobia, classism, and eurocentrism is crucial in our ongoing efforts to create positive sites of learning for everyone. Teacher educators and pre-service teachers must be exposed to forms of analysis and strategies of reform that will help them to transform materials, teaching approaches and pedagogical structures in their own local contexts.

The second specific objective, then, is to produce video and print materials that draw on examples of current curriculum documents, textbooks, pedagogical approaches and structures from both elementary, secondary and post-secondary school sites to teach modes of analysis and strategies of reform. This approach will provide concrete and practical assistance to student teachers and teacher educators in identifying and transforming the gender, racial and other inequalities evident in materials, approaches and structures that constitute their pedagogical practice.

We have chosen to focus both on gendered relations of power and on gender bias in curriculum documents and pedagogical practices in order to create the most effective intervention possible. We believe that there is little value in analysing and transforming curriculum materials, pedagogical practices and school organizational structures if gendered relations of power continue to exit between student teachers and teacher educators. Similarly understanding and changing the relations of power between teacher educators and student teachers is of little value if we continue to use materials, approaches and forms of organization that support current inequities. Work in one area provides crucial support for the other.

References

- Board of Education for the City of London (1995). *Gender equity resource document*. London: Educational Support Services, Board of Education for the City of London.
- Coulter, R.P. (forthcoming). "Gender equity and schooling: Linking research and policy." *Canadian Journal of Education*.
- Goodman, J. (1988). The political tactics and teaching strategies of reflective, active pre-service teachers. *The Elementary School Journal*, 89(1) 23-41.

- Julien, L. (1987). Women's issues in education in Canada: *A survey of policies and practices at the elementary and secondary levels*. Toronto: Council of Ministers of Education, Canada.
- McNay, M., Badali, S. (1994). Power and authority relationships in the practicum: Cooperating teachers' perspectives. In C. Beynon (Ed.), *The invisible teacher educator: Making a case for recognizing the role of the cooperating teacher*. London, ON: UWO Graphic Services. Pages 73-78.
- Ontario Teachers' Federation and Ontario Women's Directorate (1994). "Existing professional development resources: Assessment and recommendations." Unpublished discussion paper.
- Pearson, A.T. and Rooke, P.T. (1993). "Gender studies and teacher education: A proposal" *Canadian Journal of Education 18*, no. 4:414-428.
- Stevenson, J. (1992). *Gender equity in Ontario education: Giving teachers the tools to contribute*. Toronto: Ontario Teachers' Federation.
- Young, J. (1995). "Multicultural and anti-racist teacher education: A comparison of Canadian and British experiences in the 1970s and 1980s." In R. Ng, P. Staton and J. Scane, eds. *Anti-racism, feminism and critical approaches to education*. Westport, Conn.: Bergin & Garvey. Pages 45-63.

Words can Change the World/Les mots peuvent changer le monde

University of Ottawa

Three concerns distinguish our project: one has to do with the value of studying how beginning teachers constitute their world in ways that reproduce social relations; the second has to do with understanding the powerful role of language in creating human possibility; the third pertains to the hopeful task of learning how to undermine and disrupt the unconscious forms that gender, race, ethnicity and class take, in order to develop strategies within teacher education to enhance equitable opportunities through teaching and curriculum development.

Fear and intolerance wear many faces in society, some of which hide beneath "benign" guises of language. Investigations with beginning teachers show that apprehension of others perceived as different from the self reveals itself in notions of the teacher as someone who saves, performs missionary work, and is pure in his or her aspirations to achieve social good.[3] Teacher education appears to function problematically in this regard, as a place where the reproduction of norms that perpetuate forms of gender, race and class inequities can occur uninterrupted.[4] Although suggestive, these data do not clearly establish how it is that beginning teachers constitute their world in ways that reproduce social relations. A plausible hypothesis is that the contouring of social norms, including sexism, racism and classism within different linguistic communities of men and women learning to teach, occurs through uses of language. This problem has been addressed previously in theory,[5] but it has not been adequately resolved methodologically.

The purpose of our study is to investigate the persistence of inequality by examining the forms and structures that domination takes in the language of men and women learning to teach within two linguistic communities (French and English) of students enrolled in eight month teacher education programs at the University of Ottawa. The study investigates the symbolic guises of gender as they appear in metaphor, imagery, and narrative within the disciplines of foundations, history and the social sciences, language education and the arts at the elementary, middle and secondary levels of teacher education. The research examines written texts that preservice students produce in order to analyze and interpret how gender, race, ethnicity and class as social relations are encoded in specific ways through language structures used daily in teacher education and schooling environments. Qualitative methods of research will be used to examine the forms of symbolic dominance at play in teacher learning. Naturalistic and interpretative methods of narrative inquiry will be used to explore the potential of disrupting dominant language forms through alternative teaching materials and strategies in teacher education.

One important focus of education research has been the need for gender equitable strategies in schooling. An area receiving great attention is the modification of the gender regulatory norms of preservice education programs.[6] The legal and policy context of teaching requires that student teachers be conscious of the problematic nature of social constructions of identity, and of the power of teachers to either challenge or reproduce social inequalities.[7] Understanding how students articulate racism and anti-racism and how these articulations are gendered is central to identifying strategies for intervention.[8]

Our four research objectives are: 1) to conduct a comprehensive review of the literature on qualitative research methodologies in studies of language and social formation; 2) to design, develop and evaluate naturalistic measures for understanding gender in the language behaviours in French and English teacher education students; 3) to develop and assess two manuals for teacher educators and student teachers in Teacher Education to assist in recognizing, disrupting and overcoming inequitable symbolic forms related to gender, learning and schooling; 4) to disseminate project findings on the social construction and re-construction of gender through language in teacher education.

The research will make available to education faculty and teacher practitioners new understandings about methods that can be used in teacher education to understand and disrupt inequity as it is constituted and normalized in the languages of learning to teach. Two different linguistic communities (French and English) will advance their knowledge of teacher learning and transformative pedagogy as a result of the findings of this study. The project will create insights about teacher language, identity and learning that will help in the fight against injustice.

Acquisition d'une compétence professionnelle d'eneignement face au phénomène de l'iniquité pédagogique.

Université Laurentienne

The purpose of this project is to help students in pre-service teacher training to acquire the skills needed to support gender equity in their future role as teachers. It is intended as a response to discrimination in educational interactions, which has an adverse effect on girls' learning. The project proposes to develop and apply an educational approach based on acquisition of professional teaching qualifications in regards to inequity in education. We will therefore seek to explore and implement effective means of: 1) Leading pre-service teachers to understand the phenomenon of sexism, prejudices, and stereotypes, their mechanisms and their effects; 2) Leading them to become aware of negative prejudices and stereotypes in teaching materials, the curriculum, and classroom interactions; 3) Improving their ability to use inclusive language and equitable teaching practices in order to achieve the principle of gender equity, under the new Ontario curriculum.

Theoretical Framework:

The phenomenon of gender equity raises many issues, such as: discriminatory educational interaction (sexism, racism, ethnocultural discrimination, heterosexism, and other forms of discrimination); stereotypes; discriminatory nonverbal behaviour; language; discrimination in the curriculum; violence and questions of politics and power related to gender differences. These are contextual elements that are often inter-related; they require a general approach focused on the acquisition of strategies and actions to fight inequality in a holistic way.[9]

As formulated, this project, with its goal the acquisition of teaching competence in gender equity, proposes to emphasize a process whereby pre-service teachers will acquire a system of knowledge: declarative (what), conditional (when and why), and procedural (how), presented as operational methods, which will enable them, within a family of situations, to identify not only the problems but also how to solve them through effective action. The aim thus is to train teachers who will provide considered and judicious responses in complex situations, in which they are likely to be faced with conflicts in values.

Contextualized Learning:

In teaching, the most effective way to attain these training objectives is to design the training in terms of the triad of contextualization-decontextualization-recontextualization.[10] This requires the creation of an educational environment in which students encounter many recontextualization situations.

In training focused on the acquisition of professional expertise by practitioners, a teaching method that uses simulation activities (case studies, role-playing, simulation games) becomes the catalyst that allows for a change of attitude and the acquisition of teaching behaviours and practices. Moreover, this is an active method that forces reflection and the emergence of new directions in regards to improving educational interactions. Because of its concrete dimension, its educational dynamism, and its great potential for transfer to analogous situations, this method is highly suitable for training future teachers to fight against inequity in education. The teaching strategy must therefore be rooted in an actual context of professional practice providing an element of ecological authenticity, which means that varied, multidimensional, complex learning contexts must be provided so as to enable learners to gradually acquire the culture and to interact effectively with the situation.

Proposed Methodology:

As the objective of this project is to develop contextualized teaching and learning activities (a teaching guide, focusing on the acquisition of gender equity teaching qualifications for pre-service teachers) the methodology to be used will consist in: 1) Developing a functional conceptual model of the skills to be acquired that will alternate "contextualization and decontextualization" in order to highlight the elements common to different situations and to promote knowledge transfer, incorporating the learning and teaching of skills in their social and functional context; 2) Developing educational methods to actualize this model by identifying certain means of intervention that will maximize the learning and teaching situation and certain behaviours that are to be fostered in learners (contextualized learning and teaching activities: cases and case studies, problems and solutions, simulations, role-playing, etc.); 3) Developing an authentic procedure for evaluating the skills acquired, which will allow also for an evaluation of the effects of using these intervention strategies, in particular organization and transfer of knowledge.

We will next undertake a validation of these proposals through application of the DELPHI technique,[11] in which experts in the fields of education and gender equity are asked to evaluate the authenticity of various learning contexts used, either in terms of classroom situations or the Ontario curriculum. We will then undertake a pre-experiment using the material produced, through application of the teaching guide with students enrolled in the pre-service teacher training program. Lastly, we will measure the impact and the effectiveness of this contextualized learning/teaching procedure as a means of acquiring teaching competence in educational equity, by measuring the discrepancies between expected performance and the observed results of pre-service teachers who took part in the experiment. The project will result in the development of a teaching guide that will form the basis for a mandatory course for all student teachers at Laurentian.

Endnotes

1. The Faculty Network (FACNET) was brought together in March, 1995, by Dr Sandra Wolfe, Senior Policy Advisor, Access and Equity Unit of the Ministry of Education and Training (MET). It includes representatives from all Faculties of Education, O.I.S.E., MET and OWD. It can be reached through *facnet@edu.gov.on.ca*

2. Ontario Women's Directorate (1995) *Request for Proposals for Projects supporting Gender Equity in Education to be carried out in Ontario faculties of education.*

3. Lortie, D. (1975). *School-teacher: A sociological study*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.; Nias, J. (1989). *Primary teachers talking: A study of teaching as work*. New York: Routledge.; Weber, S. & Mitchell, C. (1995). *'That's funny, you don't look like a teacher': Interrogating images and identity in popular culture*. Philadelphia: Falmer.

4. Cook, S. & Riley, J. (1992). The case for a gender issues course in teacher education. *Education Canada*, 32, 22-25.; Ellsworth, E. (1989). Why doesn't this feel empowering? Working through the repressive myths of critical pedagogy. *Harvard Educational Review*, 59, 297-324.; McCarthy, C. & Crichlow, W. (1993). *"Race", identity and representation*. New York: Routledge; Goodman, J. (1988). University culture and the problem of reforming field experiences in teacher education. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 39, 45-53.; Popkewitz, T. (1985). Ideology and social formation in teacher education. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 1, 91-107.

5. Britzman, D. (1991). *Practice makes practice: A critical study of learning to teach*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.; Ginsburg, M. (1988). *Contradictions in teacher education and society: A critical analysis*. New York: Falmer.; Giroux, H. (1983). *Theory and resistance in education: A pedagogy for the opposition*. South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey.

6. Cook, S. & Riley, J. (1992). The case for a gender issues course in teacher education. *Education Canada*, 32, 22-25; Coulter, R. (1993). *Gender socialization: New ways, new world.* Newfoundland & Labrador: Women's Policy Office; Deckert, C. (1989). Boys and girls are both limited by stereotypes: Sex bias. *FWTAO Newsletter* (April/May). Toronto; Federation of Women Teachers' Association of Ontario. (1987). *Affirmative Action Report, 1987*. Toronto; Gaskell, J. &

McLaren, A. (Eds.). (1987). *Women and education: A Canadian perspective*. Calgary: Detselig; Ontario Advisory Council on Women's Issues. (1994). *Challenges and choices for girls and young women*. Toronto; Ontario Ministry of Education. (1989a). *The status of women and employment equity in Ontario school boards*. Toronto: Government Printing Office; OME. (1989b). *General Memorandum No. 4 on Sex Equity*. Toronto: Government Printing Office; Ontario Teachers' Federation. (1991). *A review of elementary and secondary programs on gender equity*. Toronto; OTF. (1992). *Gender equity in Ontario education: Giving teachers the tools to contribute*. Toronto; Sadker, M. & Sadker, D. (1986). Sexism in the classroom: From grade school to graduate school. *Phi Delta Kappa*, 67, 512-516; Sadker, M. & Sadker, D. (1990). *Sex equity handbook for schools*. New York: Longmans.

7. Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation, Ontario Women's Directorate & Ontario Ministry of Education. (1995). *The Joke's Over - Student to Student Sexual Harassment in Secondary Schools*. Toronto.

8. Donald, J. & Rattansi, A. (1992). *"Race," culture and difference.* London: Sage Publications; Roman, L. (1993). White is a color! White defensiveness, post-modernism and anti-racist pedagogy. In C. McCarthy & W. Crichlow (Eds.), 1993, pp. 71-88; Sleeter, C. (1993). How white teachers construct race. In C. McCarthy & W. Crichlow (Eds.), 1993, pp. 157-171.

9. Ontario Teachers' Federation and Ontario Women's Directorate (1993). *Existing Resources for Professional Development: Evaluation and Recommendations.* Project on gender equity in education, page 11.

10. Tardif, J. (1992). *Pour un enseignement stratégique*. Montréal: Les Editions Logies.

11. Helmer, D. (1966) 'Social technologie.' In M.A. Nadeau, *L'évaluation de programme.* Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval. Page 349.

Ontario Women's Directorate: Ann Holmes, Tel: 314-0351; Fax: 314-0256;
Email: HOLMESAN@EPO.GOV.ON.CA

Project Teams
University of Western Ontario: Carol Beynon, Rebecca Priegert Coulter, Helen Harper
Contact: Rebecca Priegert Coulter, Tel: 519-661-2087; Fax: 519-661-3833;
Email: COULTER@EDU.UWO.CA

University of Ottawa: Bernard Andrews, Sharon Anne Cook, Diana Masny, Judith Robertson, Timothy Stanley, Mariette Theberge
Contact: Judith Robertson, Tel: 613-562-5800 ext. 4111; Fax: 613-562-5146;
Email: JROBERTS@EDUC-1.EDU.UOTTAWA.CA

Université Laurentienne: Huguette Beaudoin, Tel: 705-673-6592; Fax: 705-675-4816;
Email: HBEAUDOI@NICKEL.LAURENTIAN.CA

Diversity in the Classroom: Challenges and Reflections

Ailsa M. Watkinson, Ph.D.

Introduction

> To become moral communities that are supportive and caring, schools need to model empathy, altruism, trust, cooperation, fairness, justice, compassion, democracy, and celebration of diversity.[1]

The Grade 3 urban class picture shows 29 smiling students, 13 girls and 16 boys, as well as the classroom teacher and teacher aide. Eight of the students are visible minorities, one is an Aboriginal student, two are special needs students and another has been diagnosed as attention deficit.

However, class pictures do not tell us how many of the children live in poverty, encounter complex emotional, social and health problems, or have been the victims of sexual and physical abuse. But statistics do. In Canada, 19% of children under the age of 18 live in poverty,[2] up to 40% of children are at risk of failure in school because of an array of emotional, social and health problems[3] and 33%–50% of children have been sexually abused.[4] To extrapolate, this means that in any classroom, 1/5 of the children live in poverty, 2/5 are at risk of school failure because of complex problems and 1/3 to 1/2 of the students have been sexually abused. Many others have been physically abused or witnessed the abuse of others.

The students in any classroom are not a homogeneous group. Their experiences vary. Some of their experiences are influenced by their heritage, culture, gender, class and abilities. Todays students represent a diverse society, one far removed from the homogeneous student population that education was originally designed to serve. This diversity among the Canadian student population presents teachers with many new challenges and obligations.

---

[1] Gerald J. Pine and Asa G. Hillard, Rx for Racism: Imperatives for America's Schools, quoted in Frank Siccone, Celebrating Diversity: Building Self-Esteem in Today's Multicultural Classrooms (Toronto: Allyn and Bacon, 1995) at xi.

[2] Donella Hoffman, "Child Poverty in Province Ranks Among Nation's Worst" The Saskatoon Star Phoenix (6, April, 1996). The poverty rate in Newfoundland and Saskatchewan are the highest, 24% and 22% respectively. The Saskatchewan Education Indicators Report Update May 1995, reports that 25% of children under the age of 7 live in poverty, at 7.

[3] Saskatchewan Education Indicators Report Update May 1995, at 5.

[4] *Sexual Offences Against Children, Vol. 1: Report of the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youths* (Ottawa: Canadian Government Publishing Centre, August 1984; Chair: Robin F. Badgley)

Teachers have requested assistance in working within a pluralistic classroom. As a result, the Saskatchewan Development Unit and the Saskatchewan Instructional Development and Research Unit, in consultation with the Saskatchewan Teacher's Federation and the Saskatchewan Education Training and Employment established a steering committee composed of teachers from around the province to look at the issues and challenges of a diverse classroom population. Some of the words and phrases used to describe the challenges facing educators included: conflict resolution, antibias and antiracism, encouraging environment, prevention of problems, inclusion, democratic principles, appropriate environment, evaluation strategies and adapting curriculum for more than one grade level in classrooms.

The *Diversity Series* is made up of this abbreviated foundational document , *Diversity in the Classroom: Challenges and Reflections* and six individual units. The purpose of this foundational document is to provide the philosophical background behind the "Diversity in the Classroom Series". This document argues that meeting the needs of a diverse classroom population, a concern raised by educators, is a moral, as well as a legal obligation. An obligation that may challenge conventional educational practices. The six individual units are designed to assist educators in carrying out their moral as well as legal obligations, by providing ideas on how to adjust or modify educational practices. The six units are:

- Multicultural Connections: Exploring Strategies and Issues;
- Growing Stronger: Teaching and Learning Responsibility;
- Planning Together: Positive Classroom Environments;
- Affirming First Nations and Metis Students in Their Education;
- A Voice For All Students: Realizing Gender Equity in Schools;
- Creating An Inclusive Classroom: Integrating Special Needs Students.

Central to this document and *Series* is the belief that teachers and others who work with diversity in the classroom must be capable of analysis, visioning, and advocacy - elements associated with reflection. The reflective teacher is capable of critically analyzing the current state of education by asking who it works for and who it disadvantages. The reflective process also involves visioning - that is stepping outside the status quo, to explore what needs to be done in the classroom, in the curriculum, within a school's culture, within the organization of education, to fully realize the educational potential of all students. Finally, the reflective teacher is an advocate of the student. In that capacity teachers act with and for students to ensure that the potential of all students are fulfilled and their inherent human dignity is maintained.

Diversity as the Norm

Diversity is defined as the variation and differences among people related to their cultural heritages, ethnic identities, gender and class experiences, mental and physical abilities and the social construct of race.[5] Diversity in the classroom is a reflection of the diverse realities and experiences of individuals in society.

Canada's changing demographics and the educational and legal developments, which support and enhance the rights of minorities, have fundamental implications for teachers. They question the "traditional" notions of teaching and ask us to consider alternatives to how we teach in order to develop the true potential of all students. In other words, what changes do I, the teacher, have to make to ensure that every student has an equal chance at reaching their potential. These fundamental questions and challenges require careful reflection upon our teaching practices, our educational philosophies and our ways of doing things in the classroom.

The Reflective Educator

John Dewey a renowned philosopher and educator urged educators to regard themselves less as a technician and more as a reflective educator engaged in "active and persistent consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in the light of the grounds that support it and the consequences to which it tends."[6] The reflective process according to Dewey requires three essential attitudes:

- ***open-mindedness*:** an "active desire to listen to more sides that one; to give heed to the facts from whatever source they come; to give full attention to alternative possibilities; and to recognize the possibility of error even in the beliefs that are dearest to us."[7]
- ***responsibility***: the consideration of long-range goals as well as immediate issues and feeling responsible for helping to fashion a more equitable and humane tomorrow."[8]

---

[5] The definition is adapted from Robert A. DeVillar, Christian J. Faltis and James F. Cummins, *Cultural Diversity in Schools: From Rhetoric to Practice*. (New York: SUNY, 1994) at 76.

[6] John Dewey, *How We Think: A Restatement of the Relation of Reflective Thinking to The Educative Process* (New York,: D.C. Heath and Company, 1933 at 9.

[7] *Ibid.*, at 30.

[8] Vicki Kubler LaBoskey, *Development of Reflective Practice: A Study of Preservice Teachers* (New York: Teachers College, 1994) at 13.

- ***whole-heartedness***: the strength to move beyond abstract notions and put ideals into practice. A willingness to take risks and act despite the fear of being criticized, disturbing tradition and making changes.[9].

As stated earlier, it is the corner stone of this document that the changing demographics evident in any classroom requires teachers to be reflective and ask:

- why do I do what I do in the classroom?
- who benefits from what I do?
- who is burdened by what I do?
- can I adjust my practices to ensure all students develop to their potential.

Researchers argue that if the education system was working equitably there should be an equal distribution of achievement across demographic or community lines. But students from diverse backgrounds "are, on average, performing somewhat worse than students from other communities."[10] The differentiation in educational success is due, in part, to educational barriers, usually unintended, which impede the learning opportunities of members of diverse groups. These barriers to learning, referred to as systemic barriers or systemic discrimination, may include curriculum materials, pedagogy, policies, practices, programs and staffing. The effect of these educational practices or conventions, that act as barriers, can be that the equality rights of all students are being interfered with.

Equality and Discrimination

Current educational literature and human rights legislation is replete with the words "equality" and "discrimination". The terms mean different things to different people therefore it may be useful to consider the meaning given to these words and actions by the Canadian Supreme Court. The Supreme Court is one of the most influential decision makers in Canada and their rulings on matters of equality, discrimination and diversity requires our attention.

Equality

Historically, equality has meant treating everyone the same - giving everyone the same opportunity. There are times when this is appropriate. Few would argue that every child should have the right to attend school regardless of their culture, gender or ethnic background. But teachers know that no two students are the same and that to treat them in exactly the same way may disadvantage one over the other.

---

[9] J. Goodman, "Using a Methods Course to Promote Reflection and Inquiry Among Preservice Teachers", in B.R. Rabachnick & K.M. Seichner (eds.) *Issues and Practices in Inquiry-Oriented Teacher Education* (London: Falmer Press, 1991) at 61.

[10] *Ibid.*

Consider, for example, the case of Laura, a teacher of students with behavioral problems. Laura discussed the need to treat students differently, to administer different consequences depending on the student. To illustrate her point she described her student Tom who reacted very angrily whenever one particular student looked at him. He swore and threatened to become aggressive. If other students acted this way they might be sent home until they had calmed down but she did not send Tom home. She knew that Tom had been severely sexually abused and that the other student reminded him of the abuser. She also knew that sending him home may have made him vulnerable to more abuse. She said:

> It wasn't that I was still approving of Tom's swearing or anything, it was sort of a catharsis for him as opposed to someone else who would be deliberately swearing at me. . . . I tell [my students] that they're not going to be treated equally and that equal is not always fair.

Laura was careful to ensure that the other student was safe and understood that Tom was wrong to react to him that way. But she treated Tom differently than she would have treated most of the other students. To have treated him the same, a practice some might see as "fair", would have discounted his personal circumstances and perhaps put him at further risk.

It is not unusual for teachers to consider the effect of the social and historical disadvantages experienced by some students. That type of contextual or reflective consideration is exactly what the Canadian Supreme Court said is necessary when it comes to satisfying the obligation of equality found in the Charter. In other words, reflecting on the individual circumstances of a diverse student population is necessary in order to meet a student's right to equality in education.[11] The Court said:

> It is not every distinction or differentiation in treatment at law which will transgress the equality guarantees of the *Charter* . . . for the accommodation of differences, which is the essence of true equality, it will frequently be necessary to make distinctions.[12]

---

[11] See Ailsa M. Watkinson, "Equality, Empathy and the Administration of Education" (1994) 5:3 Education and Law Journal 273.

[12] *Andrews v. Law Society of British Columbia* [1989] 2 W.W.R. 289, at 303.

The identical treatment of every student does not necessarily mean there has been no discrimination nor does it mean that equality has been achieved.[13] True equality cannot be met by relying on treating everyone the same because equality in that case is considered in the abstract rather than in its context.

The Supreme Court said that true equality includes an analysis of equality of results as well as equal treatment. Thus equal treatment or equal opportunity is not always enough. In fact treating everyone the same can exacerbate inequality.

> The difference in treatment between individuals under the law will not necessarily result in inequality and, as well, that identical treatment may frequently produce serious inequality".[14]

Thus to expose all students to the same educational opportunities and treat them the same will not guarantee that the legal obligation of equality has been realized, The test is in the outcomes - the results. And so, for example, if graduation from high school is an indication of educational success and statistics show that 12 percent of aboriginal students complete Grade 12 as compared to an overall graduation rate of 78.2 percent, are the equality rights of Aboriginal students being met? Are they encountering discrimination in their educational pursuits?

Discrimination

Canadian Courts have recognized two types of discrimination: direct and indirect discrimination. The term systemic discrimination includes both direct and indirect discrimination. Direct discrimination occurs when students with intellectual disabilities are not allowed to attend her neighbourhood school and when students are not protected from sexual harassment while at school. Indirect discrimination, sometimes referred to as adverse impact discrimination, arises from practices, curriculum or school rules that apply to everyone and appear neutral but which impact adversely on members of diverse groups.[15] An example might be the use of assessment procedures that result in a higher percentage of minority students being labelled as less academic more often than the majority group.[16]

---

[13] *Michael Huck v. Odeon Theatres Limited* (1985) 6 Canadian Human Rights Reporter D/2682. (Court of Appeal) at D/2689.

[14] *Supra,* note 12, at 299.

[15] *Ontario Human Rights Commission and Simpson-Sears Ltd.* (1985), 23 D.L.R. (4th) 321 (S.C.C.). Other cases expanded on this meaning of equality, see; *Bhinder v.C.N.R.,*[1985] 2 S.C.R. 561; *C.N.R. v. Canadian Human Rights Commission* [1987] 1 S.C.R.1114.

Indirect discrimination is rarely motivated by ill-will. But regardless of whether there was an intent to discriminate or not the Courts have ruled that if actions, practices or conventions disadvantage, or impose a burden on a protected class of people then it is discrimination.

According to the Courts, realizing equality means focusing on the outcome, the end, the result. If the end result of an education program shows that a certain group of students do worse than others, the program requires close scrutiny. It could mean that discrimination occurs within the program. The discrimination is most likely not intentional but it has impeded the potential of some students. The evolving legal definitions of equality and discrimination which considers the impact of systemic practices, policies and school rules is something to reflect upon.

The historical and social patterns of discrimination make the issue of meeting the needs of a diverse student population a moral and legal issue, one that is governed by our own values as well as legislation.

Moral and Legal Obligations

The moral values that guide teachers in their interactions with students and one another are not unique. Rushworth Kidder interviewed two dozen women and men of conscience from around the world, representing different cultures, religions and life experiences and asked them: "If you could create a global code of ethic what would be on it?" The interview revealed eight common values: love, truthfulness, fairness, freedom, unity, tolerance, responsibility, and respect for life.[17] Those who choose to teach often do so because of these intrinsic values which manifest themselves in a love of teaching, learning and a genuine concern for the education of our children.

Many of these same values are reinforced by Human Rights legislation. For example the objectives of *The Saskatchewan Human Rights Code,* under section 3, are:

> (a) to promote recognition of the inherent dignity and the equal inalienable rights of all members of the human family; and

---

[16] See Jim Cummins, "From Multicultural to Anti-Racist Education" in Rore Skutmabb-Kangas and Jim Cummins (eds) *Minority Education : From Shame to Struggle* (Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters, 1988) 127.

[17] Rushworth M. Kidder "Universal Human Values: Finding an Ethical Common Ground" (1994) July/August The Futurist 8.

> (b) to further public policy in Saskatchewan that every person is free and equal in dignity and rights and to discourage and eliminate discrimination.[18]

Every Canadian province and territory has legislation which prohibits discrimination in education. This means that school curriculum, pedagogy, the learning environment, rules and regulations are open to questioning and challenge under Human Rights Legislation if they act as systemic barriers to the equality rights of diverse groups of students.

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms[19] also impacts on education. Section 32 of the *Charter* states that the *Charter* applies to Parliament, the provincial legislatures and their agents.[20] Education is considered an agent of provincial legislatures. Over the past decade a number of important cases have affirmed that the *Charter* touches the role of educators[21]

In addition to the provincial and constitutional documents governing education, Canada is a signatory to the recently proclaimed *Convention on the Rights of the Child*[22].The *Convention* was unanimously adopted by the United Nations on November 20, 1989. On September 2, 1990 the Convention became international law meaning that States which ratified the *Convention* must review their laws to make sure they are in line with the provisions of the *Convention.* If a signatory to the *Convention* fails to comply with it, the state is answerable to the international community.[23]

The *Convention* calls upon state parties to ensure the protection and care of children including their right to the highest attainable standard of health care, their right to to a standard of living adequate for the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development , their right to an education and their right to be free from exploitation and abuse.

---

[18] *The Sasktchewan Human Rights Code* R.S.S. 1979 s. 3.

[19] *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Constitution Act*, 1982, as enacted by *Canada Act* , 1982 (U.K.), 1982, c.11.

[20] Section 32(1) states: This Charter applies (a) to the Parliament of Canada in respect of all matters within the authority of Parliament including all matters relating to the Yukon Territory and Northwest Territories; and (b) to the legislature and government of each province in respect of all matters within the authority of the legislature.

[21] *R. v. Keegstra,* [1991] 117 N.R. 1; *Zylberberg et al. v. Sudbury Board of Education,* (1988) 29 0.A.C. 23 (Ont. C.A.); *Jones v. The Queen,* [1986] 2 S.C.R. 284.; *Mahe v. Alberta,*[1990] 1 S.C.R. 342; *Renaud v. Board of Education of Central Okanagan No. 23 and Canadian Union of Public Employees, Local 523,* (1992) 141 N.R. 185; *Canadian Civil Liberties Association v. Ontario (Minister of Education)*, (1990) 71 O.R. (2d.) 341 (Ont. C.A.); *Russow v. British Columbia (A.G.)* (1989), 35 B.C.L.R. (2d.) 29 (S.C.); *Manitoba Association for Rights and Liberties Inc. v. Manitoba (Minister of Education)* [1992] 5 W.W.R. 749 (Man Q.B.).*Quebec Human Rights Commission v. Board of Education of Deux-Montagnes* (1994) 19 C.H.R.R. D/1.*Eaton v. Brant (County) Board of Education*, (1995) 22 O.R. (3d) 1.

[22] *Convention on the Rights of the Child,* U.N. Doc A/RES/44/25 (1989)

[23] Most developed and developing nations have ratified the Convention. Notably absent from the list of ratifying states is the United States.

The Canadian government ratified the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* in November, 1991 and in the spring of 1995, the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child reviewed Canada's compliance with the *Convention* and raised concerns over the use of corporal punishment to correct children's behavior.[24]

An Invitation . . .

The Diversity in the Classroom Series has been developed by teachers, for teachers, keeping in mind the needs of teachers, their moral and legal obligations and above all else, the goal of public education which, as one education department stated, is to "develop the potential of each person to the fullest extent. . . . [and] enhance the ability of each individual to cope effectively in a changing physical, economic and social environment.[25]

The changing Canadian demographics, evident in our diverse student population, along with educational and legal obligations to accommodate the differences among our students requires continuous reflective thought. The reflective process invites us all to listen to more sides that one, consider of long-range goals as well as immediate issues and accept responsibility for helping to fashion a more equitable and humane tomorrow and.muster the strength to take risks and act despite the fear of being criticized, disturbing tradition and making changes

Ailsa M. Watkinson, Ph.D.
415 Quance Ave., Saskatoon, Sask. S7H 3B5
Tel.# (306) 373-3611 Fax # (306) 373-2365

---

[24] U.N. CRC 9th Sess, 233rd Mtg, UN Doc. CRC/C/15/Add. 37 (1995).[Concluding Observations of the Committee on the Rights of the Child: Canada]; see also, "Canada's Failure to Protect Children's Rights Criticized". (29 May 1995) *Saskatoon Star Phoenix* A-8.

[25] *Directions: The Final Report.* Curriculum and Instruction Review (Regina: Saskatchewan Education, 1984) at 26.

Accessing Students' Realities Through Creative Assignments

During a four-year period in a teacher education program in Toronto, I asked over 500 student teachers to offer creative assignments to their practicum classes and to rigorously research and report on these activities. In studying their reports I have worked to make sense of what these activities were about for all concerned. Responses were positive, but, it seemed, for a wide range of reasons. What I have come to see is that in spite of the diversity of activities student teachers gave to their students, all of these experiences had to do with gaining access to students' realities and being moved to act upon these new awarenesses.

Whatever teachers learn about their students' fears, loves, interests, talents, beliefs, experiences, aspirations or preoccupations can be incorporated into their practical reasoning about "good action" to take with students and classroom curriculum to plan for students. A number of writers (e.g., Carr & Kemmis, 1986; Elliot, 1987; Grundy, 1982; and Feldman, 1991) have argued that the kind of knowing, reasoning, and acting represented in teaching is or should be characterized primarily by practical judgment rather than by technical knowledge (knowing how) or scientific knowledge (knowing that). Practical reasoning is understood as a disposition to "act well" or to take "good action" or "moral action" on the basis of sound deliberation which considers all of one's knowledge, values, and contextual circumstances. While the teacher's deliberation is informed by generalizations, propositions, or maxims, these must be abandoned or modified in order to deal with uncertain problems (Feldman, 1991). The idea of "right action" or praxis is necessarily "personal, subjective, and never fully formed, always in a state of being formed" (Grundy, 1989, p. 27). Gadamer (1989, p. 38) has used the terms "judgment" and "taste" to refer to the choosing of actions which are "fitting".

Models of teachers' curriculum planning routinely depict "knowledge of students" as an important component which informs planning. What I have witnessed in student teachers' work with creative assignments is the way these research activities serve as nets which can occasionally be cast out to draw in important understandings about students. While doing teacher research is an appealing prospect for many teachers, most forms of it are too time and labour intensive to be realistic. Researching students' creative assignments, however, can generate important awarenesses for a teacher while having a manageable beginning, middle, and end to a research piece.

In today's classrooms, teachers are called upon to find ways to be helpful to the learning of increasingly diverse student populations. "Inclusive Education" is the theme this year both for the annual graduate summer institute in education at my own university and for the Canadian Association for the Study of Women and Education Summer Institute. If we acknowledge that teaching and pedagogy depend as much on relationship with the student and knowledge of the student as on technical skill, then the value of the kinds of activities to be described here should become apparent.

In this paper I would like to give a brief overview of how the creative assignment research was undertaken by student teachers. Then I would like to present three themes I identified within the notion of accessing students' realities in my study of student teachers' reports on these activities. The three themes are:

- Play as a Space for Children's Realities
- Connecting with Kids & Building Community
- Being Moved to "Right Action"

Creative Assignment Research

To design creative assignments, student teachers were invited to use any one of the following three formats.

Format 1: Forced Connection Creative Assignments

This format entailed forcing a connection between a curriculum topic and a topic of current interest to students in order to develop a playful or fanciful activity which at the same time provided an opportunity for review or consolidation of the curriculum topic. For example, one student teacher was concluding a unit on the topic of farms in a grade one class as Halloween approached. She invited the class to make three-dimensional models of what witches' farms might look like. As preparation they made one idea tree showing everything they knew about farms and another showing everything they knew about witches. In a grade six class, to conclude a unit on electricity, students were asked to use the terminology learned in electricity to write essays about how friendships work. In a high school typing class, in a unit on preparing forms, students were asked to develop application forms which potential life partners would have to complete for them.

Format 2: Idea Trees as Introductions to Topics

This format entailed having the class work together to make an idea tree related to the topic of a new unit of study. In such an activity, students brainstorm all their knowledge, experience or ideas related to the topic or question and then work as a group to categorize the ideas onto branches or sub-branches of an idea tree. This activity can alert the teacher to students' topic-related experiences, interests, beliefs, or concerns which can then serve as focuses or vehicles for lessons in the unit. In a grade 6/7 class, to begin a unit on fractions, a student teacher led the class in making an idea tree about activities and objects in their lives that involve fractions. In a grade 5 class, to begin a unit on nutrition, the student teacher led the class in making an idea tree about everything that comes to mind when they think about the word "food". In a high school health class, to start a unit on sex education, a student teacher had an all-girl class construct one tree for women and one for men. She did this very artfully and sensitively in a theatre-style class of 60 students. She first had each student privately write all the words and phrases that came to mind when she said the word, "women". Next this was repeated for the word, "men". After the private writing was completed she took oral contributions which she recorded on the chalk board. As the girls gathered confidence and support from each other they drew from more and more of their private lists to make their contributions to the board.

Format 3: "What if . . . " Assignments

This format invites students to respond to a personal or fanciful "What if . . . " situation. In such assignments students might be asked to draw pictures or diagrams of an ideal bedroom, playground, classroom and so forth. Stories are often used to initiate other fanciful activities, e.g., "What if you were the character in the story who had just found the magic wand that grants a wish? What would you wish for? Draw a picture."

To "research" the creative assignment activity, student teachers were asked to:

- record their observations during the activity in terms of students' responses to the activity, to each other, and to the student teacher;
- write descriptions of each of the students' products and/or oral reports on their products;
- identify themes or patterns across students' products and within sub-groups of students (girls, boys, cultural groups, etc.);
- identify the value of the activity for the students and for the teacher; and
- note their own ideas, questions, concerns and speculations in the form of reflections on the study.

Play as a Space for Children's Realities

Many of the creative assignments given to K-3 children (and older) looked like opportunities for focused play. They involved invention, make-believe, or fantasy. The children responded to them with enthusiasm and eagerness. Examples were:

Monsters gr. 2: After a unit on environment, children used recycled "junk" to make monsters.
Halloween Safety gr. 1: Students picked a Halloween safety rule and made a Halloween character who would be good at teaching that rule.

Halloween Bear Boogie Party SK: Students made models, murals, games, and other artifacts to show how bears would celebrate Halloween.
The Witch Farm gr. 1: After a unit on farms, the class made a witch's farm.
Monster Homes gr. 3: To conclude a unit on homes and habitats, the students built homes for monsters.

What consistently impressed students teachers was the way these activities effortlessly evoked from the children so many of the behaviours, skills and attitudes that they hoped for in all of their other work with children. Student teachers' reports always expressed their pleasure and surprise about the students' enthusiasm, confidence, productivity, focus, perseverance, social skills, and use of language. The children worked hard, happily and maturely at their "play".

We know so little about what children know, think, and can imagine. So often we only look for our own words or the story book's words to come back to us from the children. These creative activities provided a space where children could engage not only what they know but what they could think, dream, or imagine. In so much of their lives, children can experience themselves only as receptacles for adult agendas. In these activities children were able to take their own ideas and run with them using modes of expression and production that were appealing and satisfying to them.

The student teachers typically had their classes generate ideas as a whole group before starting work on these projects. What they witnessed in children's responses and ideas was usually remarkable to them. A student teacher wrote the following comments about her grade 3 class brainstorming ideas about monster homes.

> They were excited about the topic. I was constantly jolted by the extraordinarily broad spectrum from which the children drew their brainstorming data unfettered by conventional systems and adult-commonsense rules. I found this inspiring and energizing.

In the grade 2 class where children made monsters from "junk", the student teacher noted that the children had many more ideas about monsters than they did about environment and that they "really seemed to like giving answers, having them accepted and then written down." In the senior kindergarten class with the Halloween Bear Boogie Party, the student teacher had this to say about the class response during brainstorming:

> . . . the children generated so many outstanding and creative ideas that it was difficult to contain them. . . . They were literally dancing in the hall showing me the bears' dance.

Perhaps these imagination activities signal to students that, at least for a time, we are trying to invite them or free them rather than contain them. Perhaps that is why the everyday "behaviour problems" didn't occur when students worked on these projects. When students don't feel that someone is trying to control them they are quite able to control themselves.

In report after report, student teachers remarked on the students' excitement and engagement throughout the project work. All of the children were happy, focused, and competent in their work. None of them complained, avoided, resisted, copied, fought with others or did a "rush job". Students were serious about their own and others' work. Prized but scarce materials were shared with ease. Children found diplomatic ways to ask each other for what they needed. Compromises were independently and spontaneously generated by students when difficulties occurred. Many products were made collaboratively or cooperatively. They worked hard to make their products "just right". The student teachers gave many examples of how students demonstrated pride and ownership with their products.

The students' biggest concern was finishing their products and days after beginning would ask if they might continue with these projects. Even after a weekend, kindergarten children would express concern about time being scheduled for further work with these. Students were concerned about finishing them "right". The products were real to them; they were manifestations of their own imaginations, ideas and intentionalities.

Students' next largest concern was to be able to share their products with the class. Frequently students "demanded" to share, even those who were normally reticent about sharing with the class. As one student teacher commented, their products were "alive with meaning" for them. Many student teachers expressed their pleasure about the amount of oral language that was stimulated in these activities and the quality of the writing work often used to extend them.

Sometimes students asked if they might do activities in these ways again. And sometimes student teachers concluded that the children needed more of these kinds of opportunities given the strength of their responses to these activities and the richness of language and group learning supported by these. One student teacher related these activities to children's natural need to learn through play and to work in challenging ways with their imaginations. She noted the students' various avoidance strategies in reading, writing and math and concluded that:

> Certainly, in light of this assignment it makes sense to provide children with more creative and imaginative projects of this nature which challenge the students in meaningful ways. But my observations also led me to believe that the nature or structure of these students' other academic work (their reading, writing and math) should be reconsidered and perhaps restructured using what has been learned from this assignment to provide learning experiences for them that are more closely related to their needs and reality.

These creative assignments gave the student teachers access to the children's realities and gave the children access to their own realities. As the student teachers listened to students' oral reports about their products and listened in on group work conversations, they heard what children know, believe and care about regarding topics connected to the project. The children themselves were able to enter and live well in this special space where they could be productive and competent using everything they knew or could imagine. One student teacher in a grade one class met many of the parents after she had been there two weeks. The parents of one girl told her that they routinely ask their daughter what she did in school each day and that she routinely answers: "Nothing." Since the student teacher had arrived she was loving school and more frequently replied: "We did brainstorming today and I had lots of ideas."

Connecting With Kids & Building Community

Student teachers working with younger students commonly reported, but expressed no surprise, that children spontaneously approached them to show and tell what they had made in creative assignment activities. Student teachers working with older students, however, found this phenomenon to be very significant for them. A student teacher in a grade 8 classroom, for example, had students draw and label diagrams or pictures of their ideal bedroom. She reported that this one fifteen-minute activity enabled the students to "warm-up" to her and to each other. Many of these creative or expressive activities can be experienced by students as an invitation to let others know and see them in ways that transcend the usual boundaries of the classroom. It was clear in student teachers' reports that students welcomed and responded to these invitations.

The following is an excerpt from the report of a student teacher who invited grade 10 students to design studio apartments which would reflect who they were.

> I did not foresee this assignment as directly or indirectly contributing to a sense of community in the classroom, but much to my surprise it did. Students who under normal circumstances would not usually speak to each other were comparing, sharing, and exchanging ideas openly and freely. As the students worked on the assignment in class, they spoke loudly and one could easily detect the excitement and passion in their voices. Fascination and animation permeated the classroom and an incredible warmth and enthusiasm transmitted from each student.
>
> . . .
>
> . . . Furthermore, this type of activity does in fact provide the students with a means of expressing themselves not only as students but also as people, and because it is such a

> personalized task it also provides a safe outlet for self-disclosure. We as teachers can gather so much insight into our students via their work (as I have in conducting this particular activity) precisely because the end-products are a reflection and thus a transmission of self that we must come to know and understand in order to ensure communication and sincerity between ourselves and the student. In this particular case, I had students who at first felt threatened and intimidated by me because I was someone new invading their "real" teacher's territory, approach me and share their innovative ideas, justifying why they would have certain things in their living area and how these things were indicative of the sort of people they were. It was absolutely wonderful to see how quickly they were able to generate ideas, how proud they were of them, but especially how willing they were to make me part of their optimism and geniality. This is one experience I will never forget.

Student teachers completing their practicum in secondary classrooms often felt challenged to start seeing "30 individuals" instead of "a class". Students' distinctive responses to creative assignments gave student teachers a chance to see, appreciate, and remember more of each student's individuality. Even an assignment like "changing the location/setting of a story, making a picture of the new setting and characters, and writing how the story would be different" gave a student teacher more appreciation of each student's distinctiveness.

Often the creative assignments also enabled the students to appreciate each other more fully. A student teacher in a grade 9 class had the students work in groups to create role plays as a follow-up to a reading assignment. Both she and the students were surprised at the leadership ability some students showed in the role play activity. These were students who were not known for their proficiency in regular class work. The other students' enhanced appreciation of these students through this activity was palpable. What a kindness for these students to feel more seen by their peers. Students' appreciation of each other's talents occurred similarly in the kindergarten Halloween Bear Boogie Party as children in groups decided who would do the printing, making of furniture, drawing of bears, or constructing of decks and ramps according to each child's skills and interests. To experience community, to feel belongingness, each student needs to feel "known" or "seen" and "accepted". The open-ended, creative assignments typically provide a larger space for students to discover and value each other's gifts.

Student teachers' reports on creative assignments also spoke to the particular value of having students create visual products in these assignments. Examples of topics used for visual products by student teachers in secondary classes were: "an ideal town", "one's actual or ideal world", and "a poster displaying the components of an imagined trip in a particular country or city." One student teacher wrote that 6 weeks after the practicum, each poster still brought to mind the face of the student who had created it. Several student teachers mentioned that, during the practicum itself, each time they saw a student's face they also "saw" the visual product the student had created.

While student teachers acknowledged that the visual products had revealed common concerns or interests of the students as a group, they emphasized that each product had also revealed something of the unique personality, gifts, or preoccupations of each student. Since a strong visual may be easier to recall than pages of handwritten text for each of 30 students, the self-expressive visual products may be particularly potent at the beginning of one's time with a class. Without such memorable and informative signatures, students may have only classroom behaviour, academic performance, physical appearance, and presence to distinguish themselves from one another in the teacher's eyes. The visual products can reveal a variety of talents, skills, interests, values, knowledge, and preoccupations which can draw forth the teacher's genuine respect, appreciation, and understanding and which might have no other means of coming forward in the usual classroom activities.

In a variety of ways, the creative tasks gave student teachers an opportunity to connect with and get to know their students as more whole, complex, multi-faceted people. In the course of these activities students also shared themselves with each other and warmed to the mutuality of that sharing. Creative assignments that required group work made particularly strong contributions to community and friendships. Many educators expect that cooperative group work with structured comprehension and application tasks should build community. Sometimes, however, student relationships instead deteriorate because some students are not seen to do their share on projects that will be graded. In creative assignments, however, the opportunities for fun, humour, and conceptual playfulness inherent in these activities are rich ground for the bonding and comraderie we would wish for our students. A student teacher in a grade 7 class described how a large percentage of the class were social isolates who didn't seem to know how to get anything going with other kids. After giving them group work in a creative assignment in social studies, she noted that the previous "loners" started to hang out with (at recess and assemblies) the students they had worked with in groups. In a grade 10 French class, a student teacher had the class work in groups to invent activities for a celebration of Ground Hog Day. One group invented a dance and song which they taught the class to do. Another group invented a game for the class to play, and so forth. The class spirit and comraderie established by such activity makes a large contribution to the sense of community in the class. When students feel "at home" in the classroom, when they feel connected to the other students and to the teacher, they are more available to experience the classroom as part of their reality.

Being Moved to "Right Action"

Many of the student teachers' creative activities brought to the surface real concerns, preoccupations, and challenges that students were experiencing in their lives. While the three-week practicum block typically restricted the student teachers' follow-up opportunities, I was very impressed and moved by the desire they expressed to act upon their knowledge and the many good ideas they had for helpful action.

Sometimes the difficulties student teachers discovered were those of individual students, small groups of students, or a large percentage of the class. In the grade 12 social studies class where the student teacher asked students to make posters representing their ideal and/or actual worlds, one student used part of his poster to reveal his dilemma about feeling the need to quit school in order to work and help his family financially. In a grade 3/4 class, a student teacher asked students to write letters telling someone how to take care of a magic seed they were offering as a gift. Almost of the students wrote their letters to other children in the class. One girl wrote her letter to herself, confiding to the teacher that she didn't know who to write to. Some of the boys used only an ordering tone and threats in their letters. The student teacher reviewed and reflected on other daily observations of the children when interpreting the significance of the children's approaches to completing the task.

As a follow-up to the story, The Witch of Lok Island, by Elsie Masson, a student teacher in a grade 3 class asked students to imagine that each of them owned a magic staff that could help anyone who experienced problems or difficulties. They were to illustrate who they would help or what situations they would try to deal with. While the majority of the class focused on social issues such as environmental problems, children in poverty, and crime, small numbers of children used this activity as an opportunity to express their concern about sick relatives, deceased relatives, reuniting families, or improving the climate in blended families. The student teacher had many ideas about how she would want to follow-up to provide support for students' difficulties, concerns and interests. She also emphasized her appreciation of the importance of giving children space to put their fears and troubles into words.

In a grade 3 class, a student teacher read Johnny Maple Leaf and at the point in the story where the leaf is about to fall to the ground she stopped the story and asked the class where they would like to go, or what they would do, if they were a leaf and could float absolutely anywhere and do anything. She was surprised to find that of the 22 compositions submitted, 14 were about visiting the parents' country of origin, and of these, 8 involved getting to meet parents' friends and relatives. Some of the stories expressed the belief that these places would be nice because people help each other there.

As a last example of discovering students' concerns and difficulties, I wish to draw from the report of a student teacher I will call Carol. Carol offered a creative assignment to a grade nine advanced level English class, a group which she described as a "difficult class." Since the students were going to read a futuristic science fiction novel which presented an unusual system of education, she took a class period to have the students develop their own versions of "ideal education systems."

Carol was initially struck by how "involved and attentive" the students were during the warm-up (brainstorming and making an idea tree), the writing, and the brief discussion at the end. When Carol analyzed their written submissions she found that they divided into two groups. One group (about 50% of the class) only "presented a string of negatives destroying the system as we know it (i.e., no teachers, no principals, no homework, no classes except one day a month, no school after grade 6, etc.) but putting nothing in its place." The other half of the class, in their assignments, "maintained the system as we have it but suggested ways of improving it." Carol feared that students in the first group were at-risk of dropping out if nothing were to change in the next few years. She was also alarmed that good behaviour and good marks were no guarantee against drop-out since some of the best students were in the first group and seemed to express the greatest unhappiness. In this excerpt from Carol's report, she shares her ideas about what she would want to do.

> What I would definitely like to introduce into this classroom, given what I saw during the assignment, is classroom meetings, to be held every two weeks or so. I would leave thirty to forty-five minutes at the end of a period open so that students could bring up anything of concern or interest to them, and it would not have to be limited to what is happening in the actual course.

Like Carol, other student teachers completing this assignment identified a variety of ways in which they acted or would want to act upon what they had learned about their students. Sometimes it took the form of insisting that students had to be listened to more. More frequently it took the form of planning further class activities which incorporated the identified interests, concerns or needs of students while also serving the expected purposes of the course. Sometimes it took the form of wanting to go back to the students and have them dialogue about the meaning or significance of patterns or themes in their creative products. These were practical judgments made by student teachers in the first three months of their teacher education program.

Discussion

A recurring theme throughout student teachers' reports was their awareness of how uncommon or unusual these activities were for students. Sometimes teachers warned the student teachers that the students wouldn't be capable of handling the tasks or of handling their behaviour during the tasks. Yet all students in K-12 were capable. There were many stories about classroom teachers expressing pride and pleasure in the students' accomplishments and the oral and written language which accompanied these. Sometimes the classroom teacher called in the principal or other teachers to see the students' products or to witness their intensity and concentration while working on them.

In wondering how it is that activities such as those the student teachers used could come to be seen as uncommon, unnecessary, or even too difficult, I thought about the insights of authors who have worked to make sense of trends in our schools. In Connell's (1987) review of the history of teaching methods, he observed the tendency for educational methods or approaches to always be transformed into instructional patterns. Since teaching professionals like routines and efficiency, instructional patterns have tended to dominate. In fact, Connell concluded that the history of teaching methods can be seen as a history of instructional patterns from which the teaching profession has to be periodically rescued. He also noted the influences of habituation and zeitgeists. Teachers tend to teach by the same ways they saw themselves to have been successfully taught. Any noticeable changes in teaching have been associated with wider social and cultural changes or current zeitgeists.

Apple & King (1977), in offering an analysis of King's observation work in a kindergarten, noted how the procedures, routines, and teacher talk in the class all served to emphasize children learning to be obedient, follow instructions, restrain themselves, tolerate discomfort, and complete tasks on schedule. Children, through these emphases, quickly learned the difference between work and play. They were learning to adjust to what the demands of the work place might well be. While there have been various zeitgeists over the last 20 years, many of today's teachers may carry with them the uninterrogated hidden curriculum of their own years as students in schools. Certainly, implicit assumptions about the bipolarity of work and play could discourage teachers from employing creative assignment approaches.

Just as the work/play dichotomy can be a strong deterrent to the use of creative assignments, so to, what Lilia Bartolome (1994) refers to as the "methods fetish" can draw teachers' attention away from their own creative role in pedagogy. Bartolome points out that even student teachers expect to learn a "one size fits all recipe" for effectively teaching subordinated learners. She reminds us, however that there are no roads but the one we create as we walk it together and that even unsophisticated methods can work when the student feels genuinely respected, known, and appreciated by the teacher. Through the various kinds of creative assignments discussed in this paper, teachers can create more opportunities to recognize and appreciate what students care about, know, have experienced, and can do. Knowing students' realities more fully can inspire the teacher's energy and imagination for "right action."

References

Apple, M.W. & King, N.R. (1977). What do schools teach? *Curriculum Inquiry*, *6*(4), 341-358.

Bartolome, L.I. (1994). Beyond the methods fetish: Toward a humanizing pedagogy. *Harvard Educational Review*, 64(2), 173-194.

Carr, W. & Kemmis, S. (1986). Becoming critical: Education, knowledge, and action research. Philadelphia, PA: Falmer Press, Taylor & Francis Inc.

Connell, W.F. (1987). History of teaching methods. In M J. Dunkin (Ed.) *The international encyclopedia of teaching and teacher education*, (pp. 201-214).NY: Pergamon Press.

Elliot, J. (1987). Teachers as researchers. In M. J. Dunkin (Ed.) *International encyclopedia of teaching and teacher education*, (pp. 162-164). NY: Pergamon Press.

Feldman, A. (1991). Teacher knowledge and practical reasoning. Paper presented at the first Invitational Symposium on Teacher Education, Spencer Hall, University of Western Ontario.

Gadamer, H-G. (1989). *Truth and method, second revised edition. (J. Weinsheimer & D. G. Marshall, Trans.).* NY: The Publishing Corporation.

Grundy, S. (1982). Three modes of action research. *Curriculum Perspectives*, 2(3), 23-24.

Julia Ellis, University of Alberta, Department of Elementary Education
551 Education South, Edmonton, AB T6G 2G5.
Phone (403) 492 3666 FAX (403) 492 7622. E-mail: julia.ellis@ualberta.ca

Preserving Kanien'kehà:ka Culture and Language Through Community-Based Education and Video

Abstract

Kanien'kehà:ka, People of the Flint (Mohawks), face the possible extinction of their language and culture. Women of *Kanien'kehà:ka* ancestry have a centuries-long tradition of sharing the decision-making and maintaining the culture of their communities. In the project described here, *Kanien'kehà:ka* and non-aboriginal women collaborate on community-based video to support the culture. Project team members produce Kanien'keha language videos addressing traditional and contemporary culture for the Kanehsatà:ke Immersion School, while maintaining artistic and directorial control over their work. These videos supplement learning materials, books, posters and workbooks, produced by *Tsi Ronterihwanonhnha Ne Kanien'keha*, the Kanehsatà:ke Resource Center for the Preservation and Teaching of the Language and Culture of the *Kanien'kehà:ka*.

Kanehsatà:ke Traditions

Kanehsatà:ke, a rural community northwest of Montreal, is part of the Iroquois Confederacy. It is traditional knowledge that the land called Kanehsatà:ke (On the crusty sand dunes) was formed at the same time as the Kanehsatà:ke people who occupied it. According to Longhouse tradition, land is inherited along matrilineal lines, and clan mothers select and, if necessary, remove the chiefs. According to traditional practice and the Confederacy Constitution, women have custody of the land, responsibility for the culture, and a greater part of child-rearing responsibility. Kanehsatà:ke women continue to see their proper role in community government as equal to that of men. The Iroquois Constitution also guarantees children a family and a place in society. These principles are understood through oral tradition; they have also been recorded by Kanehsata'kehró:non (Gabriel-Doxtater & Van den Hende, 1996) and by non-aboriginal anthropologists. (Spittal, 1990; Parker, 1910/1983) Colonial and Canadian governments have challenged these principles by developing policies that promote surrender of the land, attrition, forced assimilation, and the breakup the family.

Government and Church Treatment of Kanehsatà:ke Children

> The indigenous tragedy of a people surviving genocide, orphaned, displaced, and largely deculturated in their own homeland, is *the* tragedy of this country, affecting everyone far more than most of us realize. It lies buried, invisible beneath the histories (plural, multicultural) taught in the schools and universities, beneath the history (singular, one-dimensional) officially assumed, even beneath the stories of lives lived and experienced individually, locally. It is the bump under the carpet of colonialism, the nightmare at the edge of communal sleep. (Lippard, 1992, p. 19)

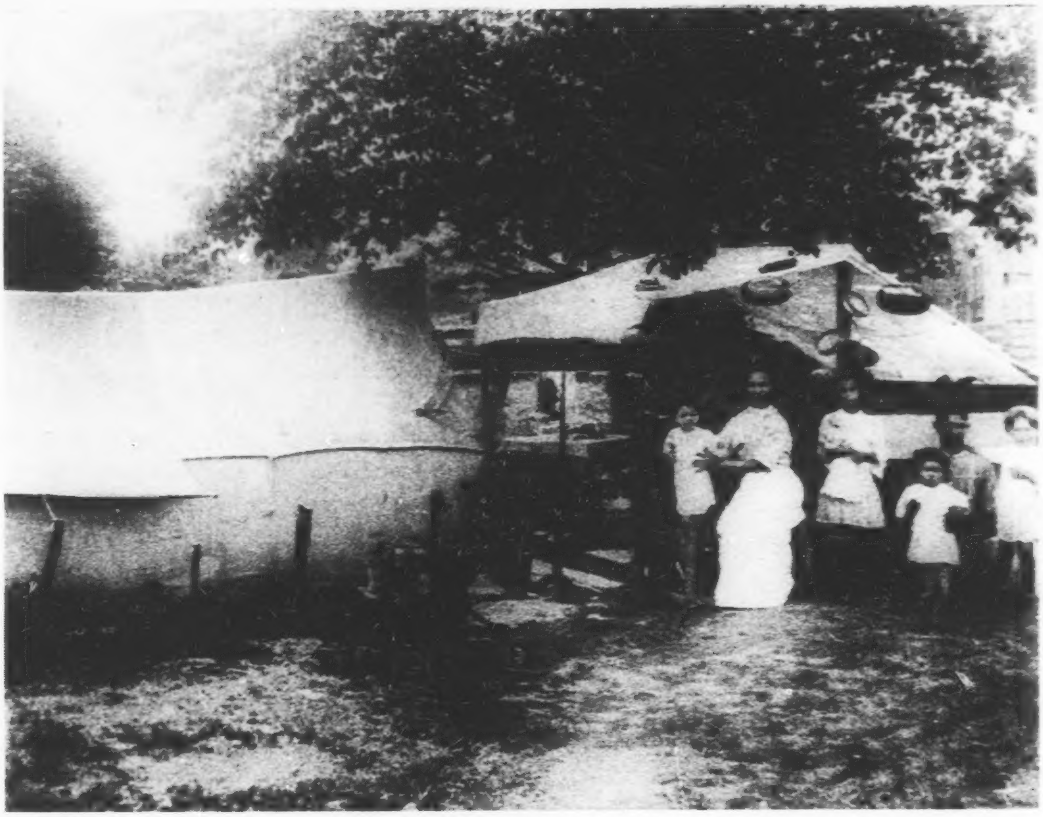

Figure. *"The Early Days at Gibson"* Roy Rennie Photo Collection. *Note*. Reproduced with permission from *At the woods' edge: An anthology of the history of the people of Kanehsatà:ke* (p. 157), by B. K. Gabriel-Doxtater and A. K. Van den Hende, 1996, Kanehsatà:ke, Que.: Kanehsatà:ke Education Center.

Members of the aboriginal community of Kanehsatà:ke, like members of other North American aboriginal communities, have faced 500 years of the erosion of their language and culture. They faced, and continue to face, continual encroachment upon their land and government policy to displace them. For example, in the early 1880's Kanehsatà:ke families were removed to Gibson, Ontario (Figure) where a number of them died in the early years because of the harsh conditions. (Gabriel-Doxtater & Van den Hende, 1996)

At the beginning of the next decade, they faced the removal of their children to a residential school in Sault Ste. Marie, 600 km from their homes. Many children 4 years old did not see their parents again until they returned home when they were 14 years old, some were 18. Beyond their loss of family life, many children suffered physical, mental, and sexual abuse at the hands of school personnel. Some children died, and a number of them escaped. To this day, some cannot talk about their experiences at Shingwauk Industrial Home, the school that became a model for other residential "Indian" schools.

The removal of the children was a deliberate government and church program to eradicate aboriginal language and culture and to convert what they considered "pagan" children to Christianity. The 1889 Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs stated,

> The boarding school dissociates the Indian child from the deleterious home influences to which he would otherwise be subjected. It reclaims him from the uncivilized state in which he has been brought up. It brings him into contact from day to day with all that tends to effect a change in his views and habits of life. (as cited in Miller, 1991, p. 196)

In the 1883 House of Commons debate, a federal minister explained the policy promoting residential schools:

> If these schools are to succeed, we must not have them too near the bands; in order to educate the children properly we must separate them from their families. Some people may say that this is hard, but if we want to civilize them we must do that. (as cited in Miller, 1991, p. 196).

Today members of the community look back on their community's legacy:

> No other single people, in the entire history of Canada has ever experienced the long-term, systematic removal of children from family and community. As we look to our own resources and spiritual well-being, we see the residential school system as one of the main causes, if not the major cause of many afflictions. Language and history form part of the foundation on which the identity of a people is built. At Shingwauk Home Onkwehon:we children were forbidden to speak their own language and no Native history was taught. These restrictions and orchestrated neglect are viewed with sadness, regret and anger by those who went to the school, even by those who value the instruction they received. The disciplinary actions carried out by school authorities are regarded by most of the former students as extreme and inhuman. These measures were, by any measure, abusive. (Gabriel-Doxtater & Van den Hende, 1996; also cited in video by Gabriel & Saccá, 1996)

The greatest number of Kanehsatà:ke children went to Shingwauk Industrial Home in the 1920's, 1930's and 1940's. Many see their childhood there as "a lonely and frightening time" (Gabriel-Doxtater & Van den Hende, 1996. p. 200). The school was closed in 1970. Twenty years later, the Anglican Church of Canada, the United Church of Canada, the Presbyterian Church of Canada and the Roman Catholic Churches apologized to aboriginal peoples for the residential school system. The Government of Canada has not apologized.

The police and military action in the "Oka Crisis of 1990" was one of the more recent disruptions of community life and values, jeopardizing basic human rights according to the Commission des droits de la personne du Québec. (Rochon & Lepage, 1992) The Crisis has had an especially harsh effect on the children. During the Crisis, "a lot of kids asked their parents when, not if, the police were coming to kill them" (David, 1991b, p. 11). Members of the community witnessed Quebec police pretend with hand gestures to be shooting at children as the children watched. (L. K. Cree, personal communication, April 8, 1996)

Parents noticed the serious effects of these traumatic experiences on the children (David, 1991a), and they notice the children continue to be affected.

The Crisis brought intense media attention without accompanying understanding. (Roth, 1992) Members of the outside community cast natives in the role of "the other" and all too often represented native lives and culture in fragmentary and distorted ways. One of the best examples is the plethora of newscasts, television programs, magazine and newspaper articles, books and even videos, film and art works based on the "Oka Crisis" at Kanehsatà:ke; almost all have been produced by non-natives. Although native people are objects of interest to the public, rarely are members of native communities the authors of what is written or the artists creating the images that portray aboriginal people.

The appropriation of native cultures by the larger society is a longstanding problem. This immersion in alienating imagery greatly affects members of the native community, especially the children and teen-agers. The impact of this portrayal was pointed out by Kanehsatà:ke artists who discussed the meanings of their art and its relation to the ongoing political crisis surrounding Kanehsatà:ke. (Saccá, 1993)

Preserving Kanien'kehaka Language and Culture

Traditional and personal stories are important in sustaining the culture, and these stories counteract the alienation community members experience resulting from the other pressures mentioned.

To preserve cultural traditions, in 1992 members of the community formed a Kanien'keha Immersion School and *Tsi Ronterihwanonhnha Ne Kanien'keha*, the Kanehsatà:ke Resource Center for the Preservation and Teaching of the Language and Culture of the *Kanien'kehaka*. The Center supports the school, developing materials for teaching language and culture that reflect life in the community. They also sponsor language and cultural events and teach the language.

Community-Based Video Supporting Language and Culture

Mass media's stereotyped portrayal of aboriginal people offended community members, and drew the attention of local aboriginal artists who wished to produce more realistic and less racist portrayals.

In response to the need for aboriginal writing and imagery, several artists at Kanehsatà:ke decided to explore video as a means of making personal and traditional stories of Kanehsatà:ke people accessible to the community and to others outside the community. Kanehsatà:ke and non-aboriginal women formed a community-based video project. In 1993 this video team joined their effort with that of the teachers and Resource Center personnel to produce videos to support the teaching of language and culture, supplementing the books, workbooks and posters produced by the Center.

The Video Team and the Kanehsatà:ke Resource Center share equipment, training, facilities and expertise. The Video Project is also funded by the Seagram's Fund for Academic Innovation, Concordia University. Fridays are devoted to Video Project work, and the Video Team work regularly with resource people and teachers who use the language and culture materials. Two of the team, the university-based coordinator and the community-based coordinator, maintain equipment and attend to other practical matters. Teachers and video experts provide advice, as do, a technical/research assistant, teachers of Mohawk Language and Culture Immersion Program, Mohawk language experts, a professor of Art Education, Library Media Center and Visual Arts Librarian, a professor of Film Studies, and a professor of photography with experience in community video.

Recordings and Productions Completed

The Video Project Team has produced a number of significant video recordings and finished video productions. Finished productions include a child's trip to the Kanehsatà:ke Pow Wow and an elder showing children the trees and vines on Blue Mountain, Kanehsatà:ke. Live footage and coloured drawings are included, and the children recognized themselves and scenes from the community in the videos.

Recordings include important community events and a conference on language. The Kanehsatà:ke Aboriginal Language Day video shows traditional stories and plays written in Kanien'keha by community members presented by adults and children of the community. Each Language Day event has been video recorded, and in 1995, the National Film Board duplicated tapes for use by community members. The Video Team also recorded the Iqaluit/Kanehsatà:ke Student Exchange and Trip to Parliament Hill, Ottawa; and David Suzuki's Talk & Arashi Deiko Japanese Storm Drummers at a Benefit for the Kanehsatà:ke Spiritual Gathering.

The Kanien'keha Language Conference at Kanehsatà:ke presented by Mary Ann Mithun, the linguist who developed a standardization of writing Kanien'keha was also recorded. Subjects included how to teach Kanien'keha, identification of Kanien'keha words, their historical origins, and the influence of other languages including Algonquin, Sioux, other aboriginal and European languages. Participants were teachers from the three Kanien'kehà:ka communities: Kanehsatà:ke, Akwesasne, and Kahnawake.

Social ceremonies, planned events and spontaneous get-togethers of the Second Annual Spiritual Gathering and Traditional Pow Wow in the Pines at Kanehsatà:ke (1992) were recorded on video tape. We taped visitors from native communities across the continentand from several other countries. Interviews of community members, including elders were included. Each subsequent annual Spiritual Gathering and Traditional Pow Wow has also been recorded.

Kentiohkwakwéknon Tsi Tekaienawákon Tsi Nonkwaiti Ne Karihonniennihtshera: Working Together For Education

Kentiohkwakwéknon Tsi Tekaienawákon Tsi Nonkwaiti Ne Karihonniennihtshera: Working Together For Education is a video prepared for the Education Center for graduation ceremonies in August 1995. We contrasted the experiences of children at the Shingwauk Industrial Home with recent initiatives to provide a wholesome environment in a child-centered school sponsored by the community. The tape incorporates narrative based on interviews with adults who attended Shingwauk which was more of a work farm than a school. The video presents the importance of maintaining the language and culture. It also reviews recent initiatives in the Immersion School and Resource Center, through interviews with Linda Simon, Director of the Kanehsatà:ke Education Center, Nancy Howard, Principal of the Kanehsatà:ke Federal School, and Hilda Kanerahtenha:wi Nicholas, Director of *Tsi Ronterihwanonhnha Ne Kanien'keha*, the Kanehsatà:ke Resource Center.

Besides being shown at graduation, the video has been circulated in the community. It has also become a point of departure for some community group discussions.

In this way, the Video Project relates to a participatory video tradition begun in the 1960's when video equipment became portable enough to take out of the studio, even though it was still very cumbersome. Canada's community-based program Challenge for Change was an important catalyst for community video in Canada and the United States. (Boyle, 1992) Activists developed participatory video addressing community issues. They used video to counteract the commercial and depersonalized imagery of television. (Anderson, 1988; Boyle, 1992; Halleck, 1993; Ruby, 1992)

Aboriginal people have generally had limited access to the media. Maori involved in television have been, for example, appreciated for the footage they record, but have been expected to hand over their content and recordings for productions produced and directed by non-aboriginal people. Several projects have attempted to address this problem through the development of aboriginal video. (Barclay, 1990)

We hope that the Kanehsatà:ke project may continue to combine the best of traditional Kanehsatà:ke ways with the strengths of participatory video made possible by light and inexpensive video equipment, for the enhancement of Kanehsatà:ke culture.

References

Anderson, K. (1988). Participatory video in community development. *Media in Education and Development, 21* (4), 163-167.

Barclay, B. (1990). *Our Own Image.* Auckland, New Zealand: Longman Paul.

Boyle, D. (1992). From Portapak to Camcorder: A brief history of guerrilla television. *Journal of Film and Video, 44* (1-2), 67-79.

David, D. (1991a, March). After Oka: The tortured healing of Kanehsatake. *Nativebeat, 1* (8), 14-15.

David, D. (1991b). Forward. In G. York & L. Pindera, *People of the Pines: The Warriors and the legacy of Oka.* (pp. 9-12). Toronto: Little, Brown.

Gabriel, K. E. and Saccá, E. J. (Directors). (1996). *Kentiohkwakwékon Tsi Tekaienawákon Tsi Nonkwá:ti Ne Karihonniennihtshera: Working Together for Education* [Video].

Gabriel-Doxtater, B. K. and Van den Hende, A. K. (1996). *At the woods' edge: An anthology of the history of the people of Kanehsatà:ke.* Kanehsatà:ke, Que.: Kanehsatà:ke Education Center. (Available from *Tsi Ronterihwanonhnha Ne Kanien'keha*: Kanehsatà:ke Resource Center, 664 Ste-Philomene, #11, Kanehsatà:ke, Que., J0N 1E0)

Halleck, D. D. (1993). Deep dish TV: Community video from geostationary orbit. *Leonardo, 26* (5), 415-420.

Lippard, L. R. (Ed.). (1992). *Partial Recall.* New York: W. W. Norton.

Miller, J. R. (1991). Skyscrapers hide the heavens: A history of Indian-White relations in Canada (Rev. ed.). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Parker, A. C. (1910/1983). Iroquois uses of maize and other food plants. Ohsweken, Ont.: Iroqrafts.

Rochon, M. & Lepage, P. (1991). *Oka-Kanehsatake - Summer 1990: A collective shock.* Commission de droits de la personne du Québec.

Roth, L. (1992). Media and the commodification of crisis. In M. Roby and B. Dagenais (Eds.), *Media, crisis and democracy: Mass communication and the disruption of social order* (pp. 144-161, refs. 181-190). London, England: SAGE.

Ruby, J. (1992). Speaking for, speaking about, speaking with, or speaking alongside: An anthropological and documentary dilemma. *Journal of Film and Video, 44* (1-2), 42-66.

Saccá, E. J. (1993). Art, Native Voice and Political Crisis: Reflections on Art Education and the Survival of Culture at Kanehsatake. *Visual Arts Research, 19* (2), 35-43.

Spittal, W. G. (Ed.). (1990). *Iroquois women: An anthology.* Ohsweken, Ont.: Iroqrafts.

Author Note

We appreciate the support provided by the Seagram's Fund for Academic Innovation, Concordia University and the *Tsi Ronterihwanonhnha Ne Kanien'keha*, the Kanehsatà:ke Resource Center for the Preservation and Teaching of the Language and Culture of the *Kanien'kehà:ka*.

We are indebted to the Video Team Marie Kasennenhá:wi David, Valerie Wahiarónkwas David, and Susan Kaniehtenhá:wi Oke for their ongoing commitment and contribution to the development of the Video Project.

We thank the Archives Project Directors Brenda Katlatont Gabriel-Doxtater and Arlette Kawanatatie Van den Hende for the use of their archival research and interviews, and Lisa Tewentenhawi:tha Wegrzynowski for her assistance with archival materials and recording.

For their interviews and support we thank Linda Simon, Director of Education, Kanehsatà:ke; Kanás'tatsi Nancy Howard, Principal of the Kanehsatà:ke Federal School; and Hilda Kanerahtenha:wi Nicholas, Director of *Tsi Ronterihwanonhnha Ne Kanien'keha*, the Kanehsatà:ke Resource Center.

We thank Miriam Cooley for her technical assistance and teaching. For their advice and guidance we thank Kathy Adams, Roy Bray, Linda Cree, Denise David, Loren Lerner, Munit Merid, Skawén:nati Montour, Audrey Nelson, Eric Parsons, Rod Parsons, Katherine Tweedie, and Tom Waugh.

Elizabeth J. Saccá, Professor, Art Education Department, Concordia University, 1455 de Maisonneuve Blvd. West, Montreal, Quebec H3G 1M8, phone: 1-514-848-4649, e-mail: sacca@vax2.concordia.ca

Katsi'tsákwas Ellen Gabriel, Artist, *Tsi Ronterihwanonhnha Ne Kanien'keha*: Kanehsatà:ke Resource Center, 664 Ste-Philomene, #11, Kanehsatà:ke, Que., J0N 1E0, phone: 1-514-479-1651.